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PĀTALIPUTRA ŚIVA-PĀRVATĪ GOLD PLAQUE

By K. P. JAYASWAL.

The relief (Pl. I.) is embossed on a concave plaque of pure gold.¹ On the back of the plaque in the middle, there was a gold bar fixed from top to bottom. When the piece was discovered, the bar still stood attached to the back of the jaṭā-knot of the male image. The image is two and half inches in height. It was discovered by a servant of the Honourable Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan of the Patna city. It was found on the site of the Patna fort where it had been buried under-ground. We should recall to our mind that it was in the neighbourhood of the fort that the Dīdarganj stone image was discovered.

The plaque is well preserved apart from the lower portion of the male figure which is broken off.

Below the jaṭā-knot of the male figure there is a crescent-like band. Its left hand touches the bosom of the female figure. It is undoubtedly a plaque of Śiva and his consort. The figures are not nimbate, the style of the female figure is that of the Dīdarganj image and the male figure is in line with the Patna statues. The absence of nimbus and the general treatment of our plaque, would assign the piece to the Maurya or Pre-Maurya time.

Images of Śiva before the Maurya time were common. An image of his was carried in front of the army of Porus as he advanced against Alexander².

1. Cf. The golden Pṛthvī image from Lauṛiyā Nandangarh, A. S. I., A. R. 1906-7 ; Bloch : Excavations at Lauṛiyā ; See also the 'Golden Puruṣa' of Agniśayana, Keith : Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, p. 354.

2. Q. Curtius, VIII, 14, 11 ; Cunningham : Coins of Ancient India p. VII.

TWO COLA TEMPLES

By PERCY BROWN.



An instructive phase of Southern Indian architecture existed during the supremacy of the Coḷas. The dynastic history of these rulers began about 900 A. D., who, attaining the height of their power a century later, declined towards the middle of the 12th century, finally succumbing to the might of the Pāṇḍyas about 1150 A. D. For the first part of this period of 250 years the Coḷas were principally engaged in territorial aggrandisement, extending their dominion from Ceylon to the mouths of the Ganges, and even over the seas into Burma. Pre-occupied as they were in these conquests, during the formative stage of their evolution, which corresponds approximately to the 10th century A.D., the arts of peace appear to have received little encouragement, and few buildings of any note are to their credit. One small temple however is known which dates from the first half of the 10th century, as it was erected during the reign of one of the earliest kings of the Coḷa dynasty, Parāntaka I, who reigned from A. D. 907 to 949. This is the temple of Koraṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanalūr, a hamlet in the Musiri taluk of the Trichinopoly district, the peculiar name of the building being due to the legend that on completion it was defiled by a monkey, koraṅgu, and so was never consecrated (Plate II). The structure as a whole consists of the usual combination of the two essential parts of a temple, comprising an assembly hall or portico (maṇḍapa), and the





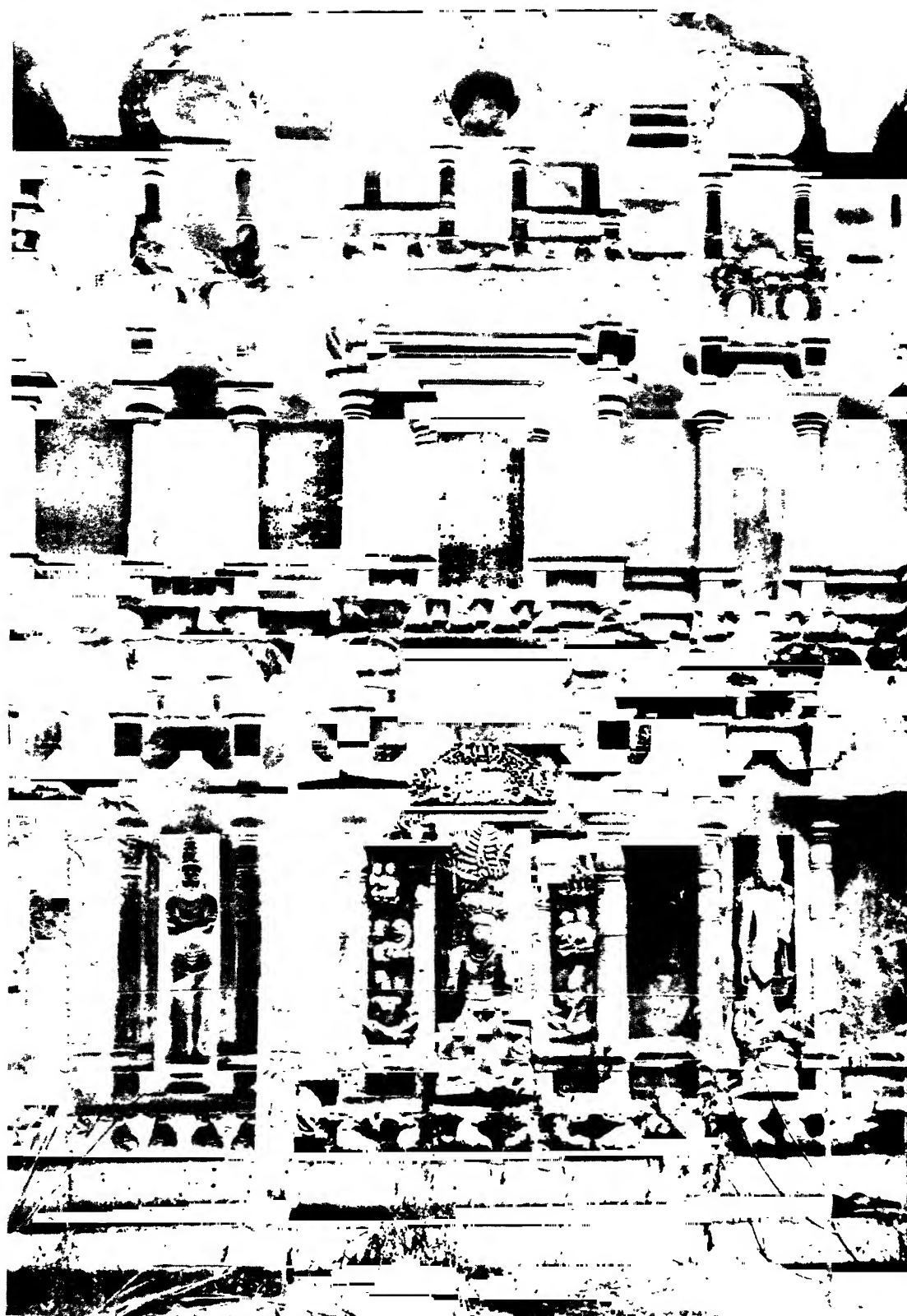
towered sanctuary (vimāna), the axial length of both together amounting to 50 feet. In plan the maṇḍapa covers a rectangle 25 feet by 20 feet, while the vimāna is a square of 25 feet side, the height of the former being 16 feet and the latter 50 feet from the ground. Within, the small hall of the maṇḍapa contains 4 pillars in antis, beyond which is a vestibule and passage leading to the cella, a square chamber of 12 feet side. (p. 7, Fig. 1).

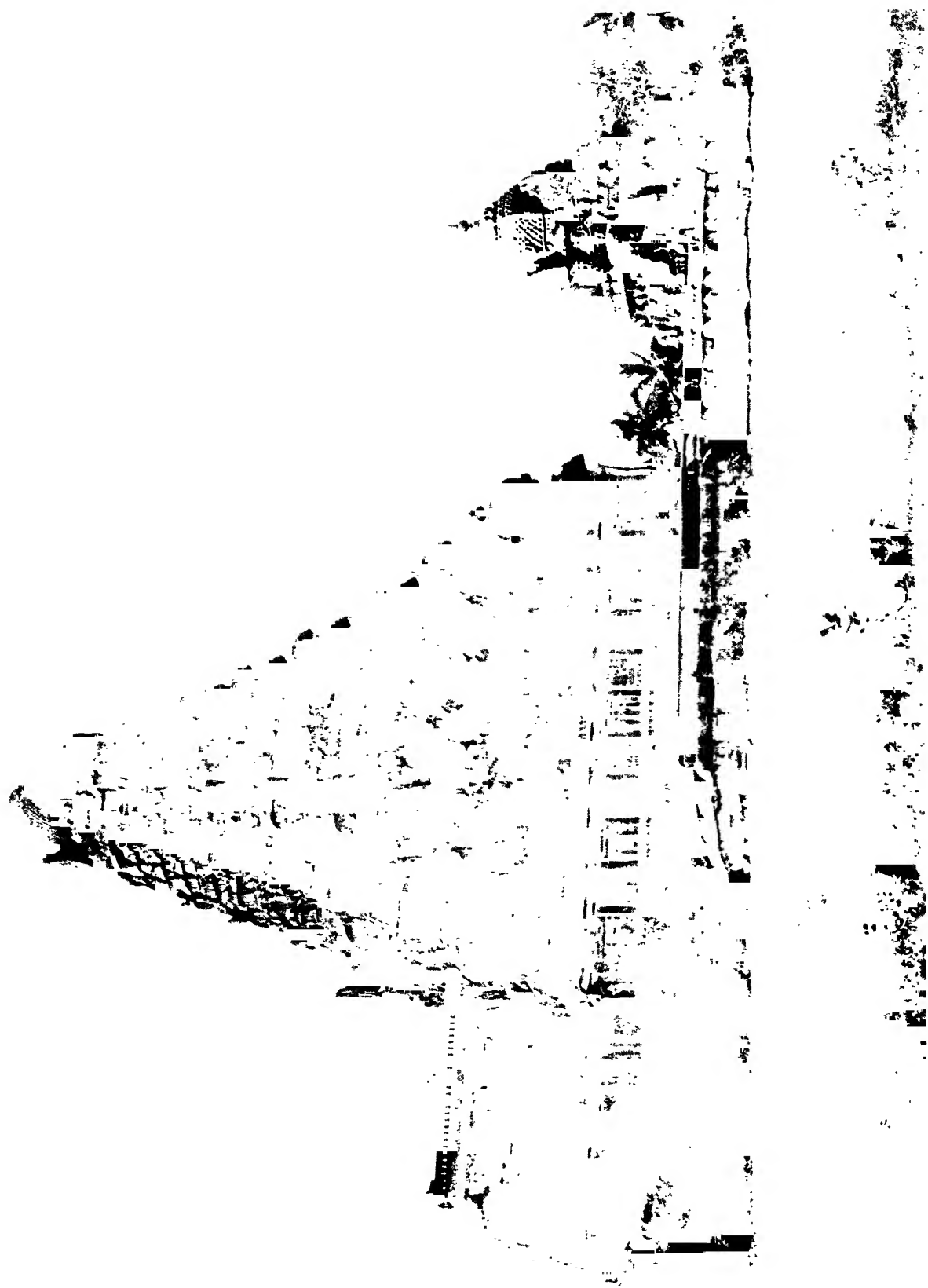
From these dimensions it will be seen that the Koraṅganātha is a temple of very moderate size. As an architectural conception however it is significant, as it illustrates an important stage in the development of the Drāviḍian style, standing as a landmark midway between the final efforts of the Pallavas, and the later and fully matured style of the Coḷas. Compared with the exuberant treatment of the later temples of the Pallavas the simplification of the whole composition is notable. (Plate III). It conforms to the same general principles as those of the preceding period but there is more breadth in the parts, less crowding in the disposal of the architectural ornamentation, and an appreciation of the value of plain spaces, which aids considerably in the effect. Moreover, gone is the lion pillar, sedant or rampant, and in its place is a conventional design composed of all that is best in the rock-cut pilasters of Māmallapuram. Yet it differs from the Pallava type in the shape of the capital, in other words the pillars of the Koraṅganātha illustrate the Coḷa interpretation of the Drāviḍian order. (p. 2). Two changes are noticeable in this distinctive feature of the style, one in the capital itself, the other in the abacus above. In the design of the former a neck-moulding (padmabhandam) has been introduced, where it joins on to the shaft, thus appropriating to itself a segment of the upper part of the shaft and at the same time adding another member to the lower part of the capital in the form of a pot (kalasa). As to the abacus, the palagai or "plank" is much expanded, so that combined with the flower-shape (idagi) underneath, it becomes the most striking element in the order. The carved decoration on this temple is unusually interesting, and one motif emerges which found a place in the subsequent buildings of the style. This is a string-course of demons' heads, squirming from under the structure as if their bodies were immured within the foundations, probably Rākṣasas, or earth-spirits, but the meaning of their introduction into the building in this manner is uncertain. It is however to the figure-sculpture that the eye naturally turns as this is of special merit (Plate IV). In the niches of the lower story of the vimāna are standing life-size statues, broadly modelled and dignified in pose, fitting in admirably with the architectural scheme. But the principal figure-subject is a group occupying the centre of the southern side of the vimāna, depicting Dakṣiṇā Mūrti surrounded by attendants, attributions, and vehicles,

associated with this manifestation of Śiva. Apart from the wealth of symbolism contained in this ikon, the craftsmanship is of a high order, displaying a variety of influences, but in the main showing its derivation from that great school of plastic art which flourished some two centuries before, under the Pallavas at Māmallapuram.

The full maturity of the architecture of the Coḷas arrived less than a century later, as the temples of Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaḷapuram, eloquently testify. Compared with the previous temple of Koraṅganātha, they are as cathedrals to a village church. Both built within the first quarter of the 11th century, they prove that, during the intervening period, the Coḷas had had their character revealed to themselves. The first of these great temples to be erected was that at Tanjore, probably the largest and highest structure of its kind hitherto undertaken by Indian masons. This building is however well-known, and has been frequently described. On the other hand the temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaḷapuram produced a little later, owing perhaps to the fact that it lies off the beaten track, has not received the attention that such a fine structure undoubtedly deserves. (Plate V). It is true that it has not those virile qualities, the masculine vigour, of its predecessor, but it possesses a rich and voluptuous beauty that suggests its feminine counterpart. Gaṅgaikoṇḍaḷapuram was a capital city of the Coḷas founded by Rājendra I (1018-33), but practically all that now remains of this great enterprise is the temple, standing in solitary state except for the huts of a village which has grown up around it. Situated 20 miles south-west of Cidāmbaram, and 17 miles by road from Kumbakoṇam, it thus lies between two towns famous for their religious architecture, mostly of a somewhat later date. It occupies the middle of a spacious walled enclosure (p. 7, Fig. 2), which may have been built partly for defensive purposes, as there is a large bastion on its south-west angle, and another smaller one on the west side. The temple as a whole covers a rectangle some 340 feet long and 100 feet wide, composed of a maṇḍapa measuring 175 feet by 95 feet, and a vimāna with a square plan of 100 feet side; between the two is a cross-vestibule or transept, the ends of which form north and south entrances, both picturesque doorways approached by flights of steps. (Pl. VI. Fig. 1).

The main doorway to the temple is at the eastern end of the maṇḍapa, the architectural and sculptural surroundings of which being of a colossal order proclaim that an effort had been made to create a large and impressive portal. Although there is some fine bold work in this part of the conception, owing to a lack of unity as a whole it is disappointing. Through this doorway access is obtained to the maṇḍapa, a large hall containing a forest of some 140 pillars arranged across its width in 8 rows. These rise from a plinth or platform 4 feet in height, through the centre of which



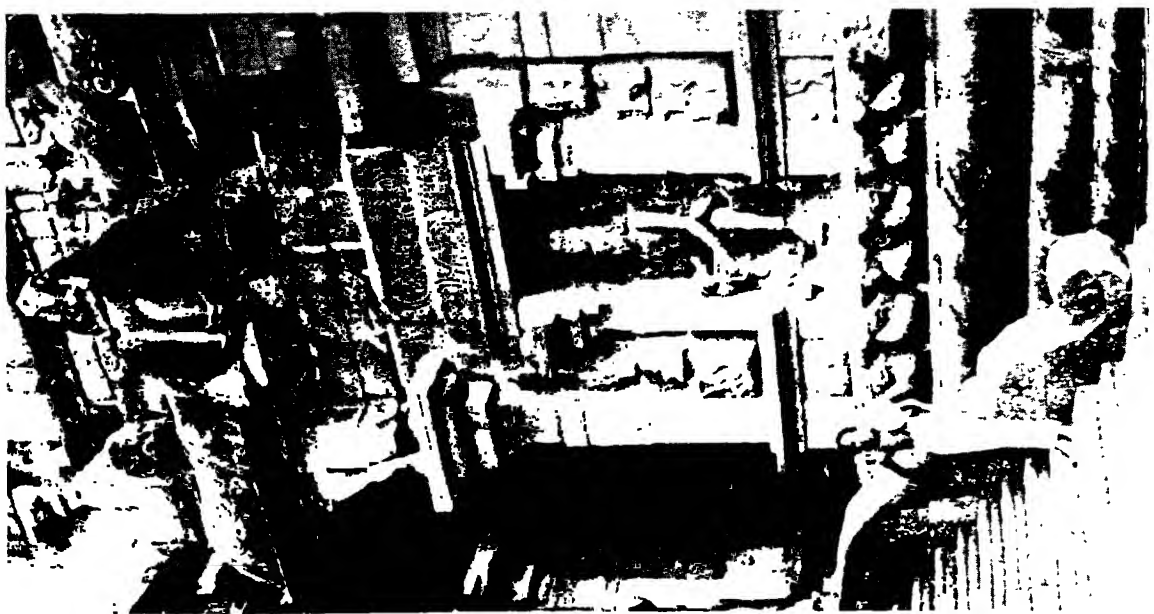
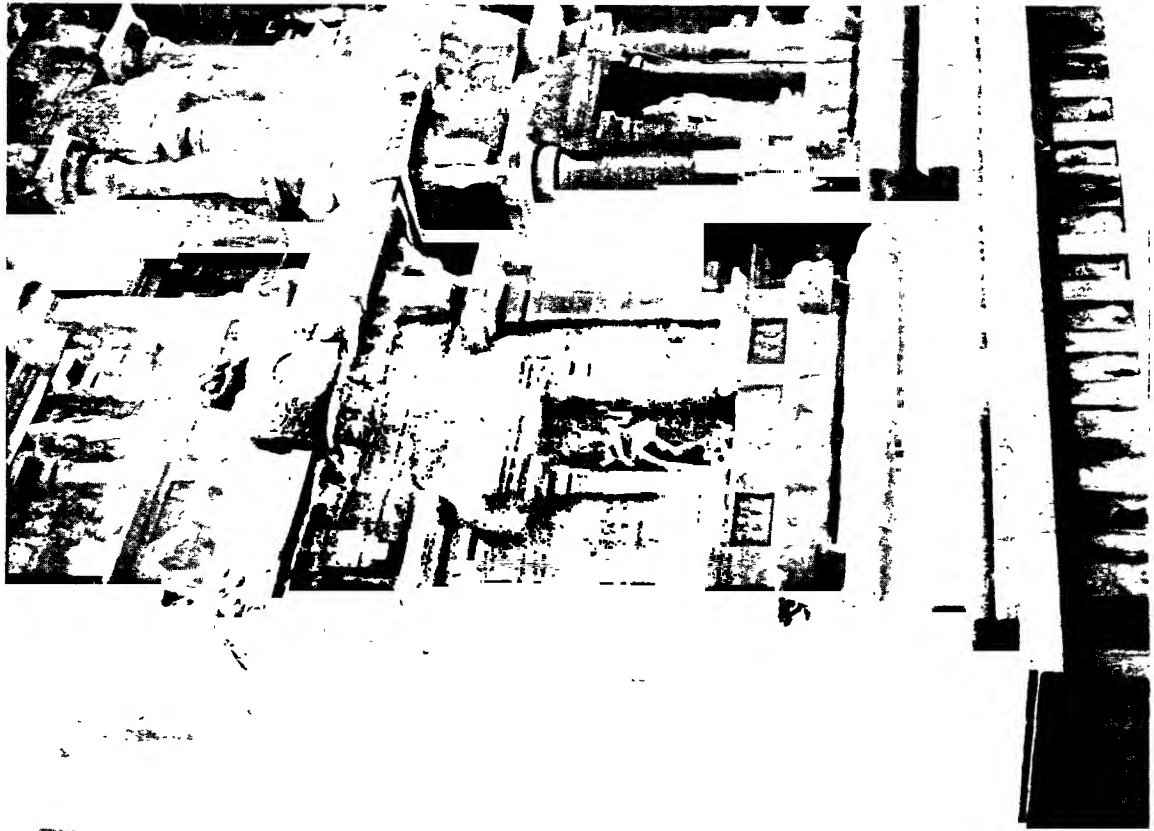


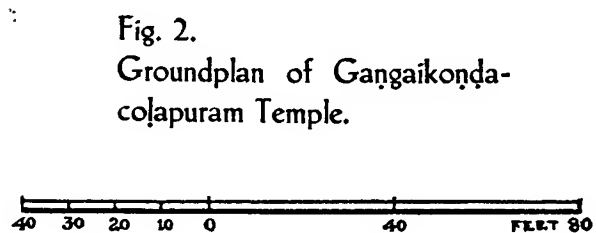
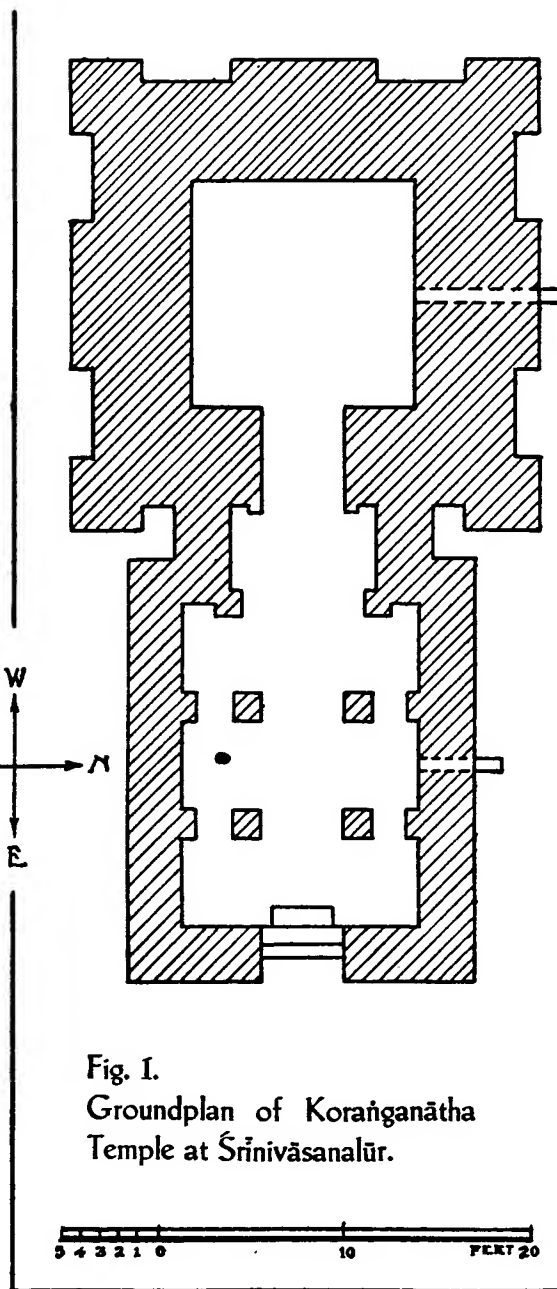
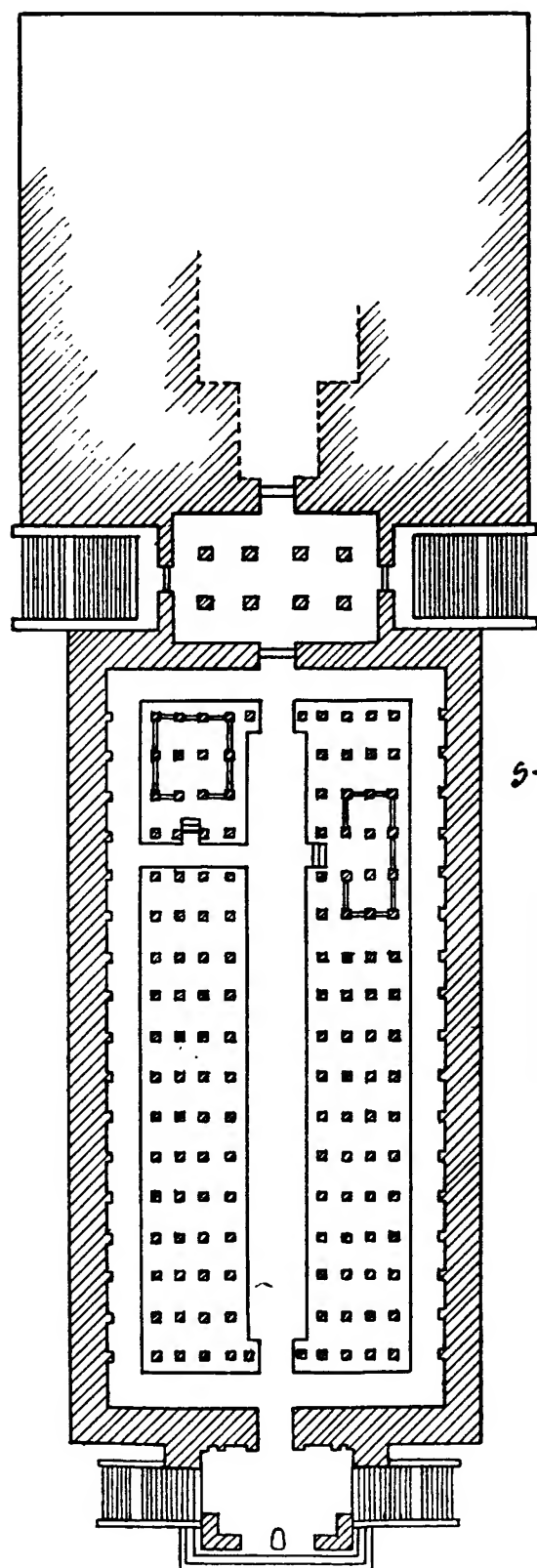
at ground level there is a wide aisle or passage, and there is a somewhat narrower passage at the same level round the interior circuit of the entire hall. Such a scheme of closely inter-columniated pillars may have been the origin of those thousand-pillared maṇḍapas which became common in all the Drāviḍian temple-complexes of a later date. This maṇḍapa at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśapuram is covered by a flat roof which is 18 feet from the ground above the central aisle, and 16 feet on either side ; the principal lighting of this great hall comes from the main doorway. An important part of the scheme is the vestibule or transept at the far end of the maṇḍapa, the exterior of which is carried up above the roof of this pillared hall to form a pronounced double-storied mass between it and the pyramidal tower of the vimāna. In the compartment forming its interior are two rows of large square piers, eight in all, producing a colonnade across this vestibule, on the other side of which lies the "holy of holies" deep in the womb of the vimāna itself.

The maṇḍapa and vestibule with all the structures forming the eastern portion of the temple, are however but a prelude to the main architectural feature of the scheme, the sanctuary with its tower or śikhara, which, rising up for some 150 feet, not only dominates the entire composition but is the keynote of the conception as a whole. Reduced to its simplest terms this great mass of masonry resolves itself into three parts, a vertical foundation, a pyramidal body, and a domical apex. The vertical foundation is 35 feet in height and divided into two stories by means of a massive cornice. Except for this sole horizontal feature its decorative treatment is mainly vertical, for its surfaces are relieved by an arrangement of pilasters artistically designed and disposed, not unlike the supercolumniation of the Romans. Eight diminishing tiers comprise the pyramidal portion, the lines of which are enriched by models of miniature shrines at regular intervals, a system of architectural decoration brought to great perfection by the Drāviḍian craftsmen. It is in this part of the building that there are indications of those sensuous curves which may denote that the style had passed beyond the narrow limits of its meridian. This is shown in the concave outline of the pyramid at its angles, and the embowed contours of its sides. Both these ultra-refinements are responsible for that fluent voluptuous grace already referred to. This wealth of embellishment is carried up into the cupola at its apex, where four ornamental "caitya" forms project like wings from the aerial dome of the finial. In spite of its almost cloying richness, viewed as a whole, there is a fine fully-matured beauty in this Coḷa masterpiece.

No account, however brief, of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśapuram vimāna would be complete without some description of its sculptured decoration. This is displayed

mainly in the two stories of the square vertical base. The architectonic treatment of this portion of the vimāna, by means of pilasters in high relief has been referred to, but allied with these are certain supplementary forms of considerable interest. Chief among these is a motif resembling a conventional tree-shape, its elegant lines and graceful shapes filling in very effectively some of the deeper recesses. Such forms, —and there are others of almost equal merit,—show great power of invention, being remarkably ingenious compositions and by themselves excellent, but in some instances they do not entirely co-ordinate with their surroundings, in other words there are passages which are not thoroughly understood. Combined with these architectural motifs are figure-subjects, statues in niches each in its appointed place, Naṭarāja on the S. W. angle, (Plate VI. Fig. 2), Śiva in the flaming liṅgam on the west face, Gaṇeśa on the south, Caṇḍī Keśa Anugrahamūrti on the north (Plate VI. Fig. 1), and so forth, all remarkably well-carved and fulfilling the purpose for which they were intended. On the surfaces around are flying Apsaras, Gaṇa-devatās, Yakṣas and writhing Rākṣasas, contributing to a general effect of great richness and vitality. In this sculpture too it is easy to see that it is directly descended from the rock carvings at Māmallapuram, with the same traditions, and showing how little such things change even in the course of centuries. Yet there is a difference, subtle but quite definable, between the work of the sculptors of Narasiṃhavarman and those of Rājendra Coḷa. While there is the same feeling for rhythm, the same well-modelled forms, the same action and vitality as in the Pallava examples, there is a more sophisticated handling of the subject, a more conventional technique, an expression of self-consciousness, that is unmistakable in the finished sculptured images of the Coḷa school.





THE CENTRAL IMAGE OF THE BAYON OF ANGKOR THOM

By G. COEDÈS.

The construction of the actual town of Angkor Thom and of all the great stone buildings with towers having human faces on their four sides, has been attributed unanimously since 1928,¹ to Jayavarman the VIIth (1181—about 1201 A. D.), the great Buddhist king of Cambodia.

The geometrical centre of Angkor Thom is marked by the famous temple of Bayon. The architectonic symbolism of this monument has become obscured as its plan had to undergo two or possibly three modifications in the course of execution.² But one thing is certain. The central foundation wall corresponds to the "central mount" of the preceding capitals, i. e. to the Phnom Bakheng of the first Angkor (end of ninth century), to the great Prang of Koh Ker (about 920-945) and to the Phimeanakas and Baphuon of the eleventh century, only instead of a storeyed pyramid representing mount Meru, the pivot of the world, with the symbol of Khmer royalty, the Devarāja in the shape of a golden liṅgam, on its apex, this is a Buddhist monument constructed on a most complicated plan. The Buddhist character of the Bayon has been recognised in 1923, following the discovery of a gable which shows the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara³. It has just become strengthened by a new discovery of M. Trouvé, Conservator of Angkor.

M. Trouvé in September 1933, discovered the opening of a vertical pit full of stones and rubbish of all kind in the middle of the central sanctuary of the Bayon under the high tower which he was engaged in consolidating. The clearing of this hole yielded the pieces of a very large statue of Buddha. It could be completely pieced together. Its large dimensions and most of all its style allow us to consider it as the original image of the temple (Plate VII).

1. G. Coedes, *La date du Bayon*, B. E. F. E. O. XXVIII, p. 81.

2. H. Parmentier, *Modifications subies par le Bayon*, B. E. F. E. O. XXVII, p. 149.

3. L. Finot, *Lokeśvara in Indochina*, *Etudes Asiatiques*, I, p. 245.



It may be asked why and by whom it has been broken and thrown into the pit which might have served originally as a passage for the traditional and sacred depot into the substructure of the monument. The answer is fairly easy. In fact, we know that a Hinduistic reaction took place, after the reign of Jayavarman the VIIth. Its traces are to be found on all the Buddhist monuments set up by this king. All the Buddha images were scraped and burned. They were replaced by bearded ascetics, liṅgas and other Brāhmaṇical emblems.

The destruction of the central image of the Bayon may be due to this reaction with its acts of vandalism. Or else it may be that treasure hunters first demolished the statue and then dug the pit which was to conduct them to the sacred depot, the object of their greed.

To us this statue is but one more Buddha figure amongst many others, but to Jayavarman it signified something more, no doubt.

The central mount of the ancient capitals served, as stated already, as pedestal of the liṅgam which contained, or rather itself was, the essence of royalty (rājyasāra). It is scarcely probable that Jayavarman the VIIth whose love of prestige is shown by all his foundations, should have repudiated the cult of Devarāja, several times of a secular nature. It is more likely that he should have attempted to adopt it to Buddhism which he professed. But could a Buddha statue be substituted for a liṅgam so as to integrate the essence of royalty and become God-king? Such doubt as may arise will be allayed after reading the penetrating remarks of M. Przyluski in his recent work on Buddhism.

"In the imagination of the humble, the Buddha image became modelled according to that of the universal monarch. The latter is a superhuman person. He equals the gods and he commands the hosts of spirits and men. In order to identify the Buddha with legendary kings, he is made to be born in a palace amidst luxury and pleasures. He is shown putting to flight the army of Mara, the evil one, and possessing himself of the cosmic tree, the possession of which bestows universal royalty. He is being attributed with a purple cloak similar to that of the Achæmenians, and finally the description of his funeral is borrowed from royal ceremony."

That the notion of Buddha-king was wide spread in Cambodia is proved by the many images in every size and material which represent the Sage with the insignia of royalty. But, one would say, the Buddha of the Bayon does not wear

ornaments. Still, who can affirm that he was not decorated at least with mobile ornaments made of precious materials, exactly as the emerald Buddha in Bangkok who is also enthroned in the middle of the royal temple and is looked upon as the protector of the kingdom of Siam.

These remarks make appear less daring the hypothesis formulated by me here. It consists in considering the beautiful Buddha statue recently discovered in the Bayon as an image incarnating the essence of Khmer royalty.

THE LAMP-BEARER (DĪPA LAKṢMĪ ?)

By G. YAZDANI.

Two years ago a shoe-maker of Mathwara (Warangal)¹, while digging earth for laying the foundation of his house, found some bronze bells and lamps, such as are used by Hindus for aratī (worship). The find was subsequently reported to the Department of Archæology, Hyderabad and the articles were acquired as treasure-trove. On examination they were found to be much worn out and the apparent reason for their decay is that they have remained buried under earth for a long time.

The most important article in this find is a statuette (Pl. VIII), 6½th inches in height which may represent Lakṣmī, for bronze images of this goddess bearing lamps—Dīpa Lakṣmīs are common in Southern India². The lamp of this image is, however, missing and as it has no special symbol to prove the identification the guess must be accepted with caution. The statuette in certain features resembles the bronze sculpture of South India, but the modelling of the head and the expression of the face are absolutely different and they point to an independent school which may have flourished in the Deccan from the earliest times.

To describe the statuette in detail : it is nude down to the waist, but the lower part of the body is covered with a sārī with an ornamental border several bands of which may be seen above and around the knees. The style in which the sārī has been tucked in front is rather unusual, being in the form of the leaf of a tree. Sārīs are tucked in front in a similar style in South India, but the leaf pattern arrangement is apparently the invention of the artistic imagination of the sculptor³. The effect however is very pleasing. The style of dressing the hair and the knot at the back of head are characteristic of the early sculpture of the

1. Mathwara is an important suburb of Warangal, Hyderabad, Deccan, being the chief centre of ground-nuts export in the Dominions. It is also noted for its silk industry.

2. Vide South Indian Bronzes, by O. C. Gangoly, p. 25, Plates XXXV-XXXVI.

3. Sārīs are tucked in a similar style in the figures shown in Plate X of the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, Vol. 1, Part. 2. The leaf pattern is not so pronounced in these figures as in the present image.

Deccan, but they are also found in the bronze images of South India, for example see the coiffure of the consorts of Veṇugopāla at Chimakurti, Guntur District, which is almost identical with that of the present image¹. The large ear-rings (patra-kuṇḍalas) show an early period for the making of the image, for in later times ear-ornaments become much more elaborate and intricate in design. The image has also three ornaments round the neck one of which is a kanthī (collar) sticking to the neck, another a necklace a little longer than the former and the third a mālā or hāra hanging down to the breast. There is a chain round the waist, but its presence has been partly concealed by the ornamental border of the sārī. There are kangans round the wrists and karās round the ankles. All these ornaments are common in India even to this day.

The head of the figure has been modelled with great skill and imagination, for the features not only have a realistic effect in their technique but show much inner determination and religious zeal. The image, although small, exhibits the workmanship and vision of a master-sculptor and, as art in the Deccan became stereotyped and soulless after the 12th century, one may assign this statuette to a period not later than that. The treatment of the limbs and the style of the dress appear to be somewhat conventional²; otherwise the image, for artistic conception and nobility of feeling, may be compared with the fifth and sixth century work of India.

Owing to the paucity of genuine specimens of mediaeval (7th-12th century) bronze sculpture of the Deccan it is difficult to express any opinion on its special features but, if we take the standard from the present image, we may say that the art of bronze sculpture, in spite of its obvious conventionalities, had developed a realistic sense of representing objects in the round and above all it was permeated by a deep spirituality which is the key-note of Indian art in its best periods.

1. Ibid.

2. These features point to a later date for the sculpture.



FOOT-PATHS IN ANCIENT INDIAN TOWNS

By B. B. DUTT.

Foot-walks, paved or unpaved, for pedestrian traffic border the main thoroughfares of modern towns. Nowadays street-traffic has developed so much both in volume and variety that its bifurcation into two main classes, vehicular and pedestrian, and their segregation and direction along different ways have been a necessary and common feature of the streets in present-day cities. The subject of investigation, therefore, whether similar foot-paths were provided for at a time when towns were comparatively small and traffic was not so heavy and congested as at present, will be of exceeding interest.

The Amarkoṣa gives the following synonyms of mārḡa (road) : ayana, vartma, mārḡa, adhvā, panthā, padavi, sṛti, sarani, paddhati, padyā, vartani, and ekapadi.¹ Of these, ayana, vartma, adhvā, panthā, and vartani seem to convey no special connotation, no different shades that may be helpful to our investigation². Sṛti and sarani seem, from their radical meaning, to refer more to water-courses and drains and paths of moving bodies like the sun and the moon than to paths of men. Padavi and paddhati have the same significance and refer to ways that grow up when men go along a certain direction, e.g. when they cross a field. They signify traditional paths as well. Though "pada" in Sanskrit means a foot, yet they cannot, in my opinion, be identified with what are technically known as foot-paths nowadays. Padyā and ekapadi are really

1. मार्गः—अयनं वत्सं मार्गोऽप्यन्यान् पदवी सति ।

सरणिः पद्धतिः पद्या वर्तनीकपदोति च ॥ १५ पुरवर्गम् ।

2. The list given above really contains no words, except padyā and ekapadi, that may have special applicability to the streets of a city. The words that have connotation of this nature are rathā, vithi and pratoli. Rathā means a street in which cars, chariots or other conveyances can pass and ply, i. e., a vehicular street. It also means a junction of two roads. Vithi carries two imports : it means a large street lined alongside with rows of houses and buildings ; it also signifies a narrow shopping lane, five cubits wide according to Śukrācārya who would ban it in large cities. Pratoli also carried the same import as rathā. It seems however that pratoli passes through high gates at the extremities.

roads meant exclusively for pedestrian traffic. It is doubtful, however, if they signified foot-paths fringing large streets. Śukrācāryya sets three cubits as the width of a *padyā* which, if it really meant foot-paths, was not too disproportionate to fit in with his royal road of sixteen cubits breadth. He however rejects *padyās* in planning large cities which shows that they are nothing but narrow lanes, so narrow that vehicles cannot pass through them and are, therefore, opposed to *rathyā* i. e., vehicular street. *Ekapadī* radically signifies a lane which is wide enough only for passage of one man. It is doubtful whether *ekapadī* means anything other than a very narrow lane. We therefore fail to fix our finger at a word, among the synonyms signifying a road, which, clearly referring to foot-paths, is capable of laying all our doubts at rest regarding their existence in the old towns of India.

When Śrī Kṛṣṇa caused extensions and replanning of his capital *Dvārakā*, the improved city possessed eight large streets with sixteen large "catvaras"¹. What does this word 'catvara' here mean? If we conceive two foot-paths on two sides of each thoroughfare, then the eight streets would have sixteen foot-paths. "Catvara" here may therefore be construed to refer to foot-paths, as one of the meanings of the word is a flat plain ground. The word 'catvara' means also an intersection of two roads². This fits in well with the description. For if the eight streets were so arranged that four of them ran parallel in one direction and the four remaining lay in the transverse, then their crossings would also be sixteen in number.

Mayamatam describes the different classes of roads in these lines :—

प्राक्प्रत्यग्गतमार्गा ऋजुदण्डमहापथाख्यास्ते ॥ ३६

मध्यमयुक्ता वीथी ब्रह्माख्या सैव नाभिः स्यात् ।

द्वारसमेता वीथी राजाख्या च द्विपार्श्वतः जुद्राः ॥ ३७

सर्वाः कुट्टिमकाख्या भङ्गलवीथी तथैव रथमार्गम् ।

तिर्य्यग्द्वारसमेता नाराचपथा इति ख्याताः ॥ ३८ ch. 9.

If the line 74 can be taken with the line following and the underlined parts of the two lines admit of connection and single interpretation³, then there will remain scarcely any room for doubt about the setting of foot-paths alongside the streets

1. "अष्टमार्गमहारथां महाषोडशचक्राम्" । Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇuparva, Ch. 98, l. 55.

2. चत्वरं स्यात् पथां श्लेषे स्थण्डिलाङ्गनयोरपि । इति हेमः ।

3. For a different construction, see my book, Town-planning in Ancient India p. 126.

in ancient India. Under this arrangement, the lines may be rendered as follows : The large, straight like-a-staff streets that lie east to west are called mahāpathas. The street that is linked and connected with (passes through ?) the central pada is called brahmavīthī and forms the navel of the street system. The large thoroughfares that are furnished with doors at their extremities are rājavīthī. The small (narrow) paths that lie on both sides of these are all called kuttimakas, literally paved paths. The mangalavīthī (i. e., the auspicious processional street) as well as the other car-streets (rathamārga) that lie transverse to the former set and are equipped with doors, are known also as nārācapathas. According to this construction, it is evident that the "kuttimakas" cannot but be what we know by foot-paths to-day. This text, however, admits of a different construction as well. As this conclusion depends upon a construction that is not above question and criticism, we do not stand on a firm ground concerning it.

Vṛhat Saṁhitā, Viśvakarmaprakāśa, Viśvakarmavidyāprakāśa and other treatises on domestic architecture lay down that, outside every house and in front of it there shall be constructed a "vīthikā" as broad as one-third the width of the house¹. What does this "vīthikā" mean ? It is a part of the house (gṛhāṅga). Does the word refer to the corridor or verandah of a house ? Or does it signify a pavement in front of the house lying all along its length ? If the answer to the last interrogation be in the affirmative, then it follows that the pavements, in front of houses facing in rows a street, constituting a continuum, will make a foot-path, so that vīthikā may mean a foot-path. The identity in nomenclature of this term with the word "vīthī" which means a large street, should be noted in this connection.

In some works the word vedikā has been used to denote the same thing. Now Mānasāra says that all the streets should be skirted on their both sides with "vedikā"². Now this "vedikā" can admit of no other meaning than that of a foot-path³. This can therefore be accepted, without question, as probative evidence of foot-paths.

Haradatta, the distinguished commentator seems to testify to their existence in ancient India in a more conclusive way. Regarding the specific passage that

1. शालात्रिभागतुल्या कर्तव्या वीथिका वह्निर्भवनात् ॥

2. वीथिनां पार्श्वयोर्द्वेषे वेदिकाद्वैरन्तकृतम् ।

It should be noted that this term vedikā which we have interpreted to denote a foot-path is in name the same word which signified part of a house and which is also identified with vīthikā, lending additional colour to the view that the last term should be taken to mean a foot-path.

3. Can this word possibly mean a raised seat to serve as an open salon ?

should be given to the murderer of a Brāhmin, Āpasthambha directs that this path should lie in the midst in a street¹. Haradatta, commenting on this passage writes : "Some say that his passage lies midway between the two paths that skirt a large street (rathyā) on its both sides"². Here is a clear, unquestionable reference to foot-paths. Haradatta, though he can not be dated to the period of ancient India, certainly flourished centuries before the advent of the English in this country and could not therefore be charged with borrowing his notion of foot-path from the west and with consequently utilising this notion in suggesting the above commentation.

The technical term for "foot-path" in Sanskrit seems to be 'pakṣa' (पक्ष).

पक्षयुक्ता तु वीथी स्यात् पक्षहीनं तु मार्गकम् । Mānāsāra IX, 196.

The road with foot-paths (literally, wings) is called vīthī and the road without foot-paths, is mārgaka.

दक्षिणोत्तरस्थं तत् तत्संख्या यथेष्टका

एवं वीथिर्द्विपक्षं स्यान्मध्यस्थैकपक्षम् । M. XI, 350.

अन्तर्वीथी चैकपक्षा बाह्यवीथी द्विपक्षका । M. IX, 396.

मुख्या वीथी द्विपक्षा स्याद्..... । M. IX, 104.

The north-south streets should be as many as necessary. These streets should have two foot-paths on both sides, the intervening streets should have only one foot-path (on one side). The intervening streets should have foot-paths on one side, while the thoroughfares surrounding the wards should have foot-paths on both sides. The main streets should be double-winged, i.e., should have two foot-paths on both sides.

I have not however comes across any evidence in support of the existence of foot-paths in the reports of archaeological survey or in the traveller's accounts. Literary evidence seems, nevertheless, to be conclusive about it.

1. तस्य पथा अन्तर्ग वक्त्रं नि । Āpasthambha Dharmasūtra, Praśna I, Paṭala 9, Khandika 24, Sūtra 12.

2. अपर आह, यत्र रथ्यादौ उभयोः पार्श्वयोर्वक्त्रं नो भवतः, तत्र तयोर्मध्ये सुवकरादिपथेन सञ्चरेतेति

SOME IRANO-HELLENISTIC, INDIAN AND EASTERN ASIATIC ELEMENTS IN THE ART OF THE GREAT MIGRATION IN HUNGARY

By ZOLTÁN DE TAKÁCS.

Some years after the beginning of my studies in Eastern Asiatic arts, about the year 1910, I was obliged to give expression to my conviction that some motifs of the art of the Great Migration in Hungary must have had their source in the Far East, both in the region of the Iranian and Indian and in that of the Chinese cultural area. Many of my observations I published (in several reviews), many remained unpublished, as I was sometimes interrupted in my studies and the material I needed was not always accessible to me.

But nevertheless I was able to solve the main questions in which I was interested. My object was to indicate the art motifs which the migrating people brought to Hungary, from the Far East and on the basis of the recognition of these art motifs to fix the date of their migration and the nationality of their bearers.

Thus the Hungary of the Dark Ages was, I venture to maintain, linked with the Hellenized Iran of the Parthians and Eastern Turkestan and through them with the Chinese cultural area. The mediators between this region of the Far East and Hungary of the migration period were naturally not only Iranians, but also Huns. We have objects which bear proof of being first-hand importations. Now, according to the aim I have in view, I will quote only such proofs as can instruct us about a similar Iranization of the Hungary of the Huns and the East of about the same time.¹

In the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest there is a small bronze girdle ornament from the Ordos territory, a plaque representing a lion's head, framed with beads. (Pl. IX. Fig. I). Each of the three corners of this frame is accentuated by

1. A number of photographs was kindly placed at my disposal by N. Fettich, K. Sebestyén and late F. Mora. Besides I have to thank E. Jonas for his kind assistance in numismatic matters.

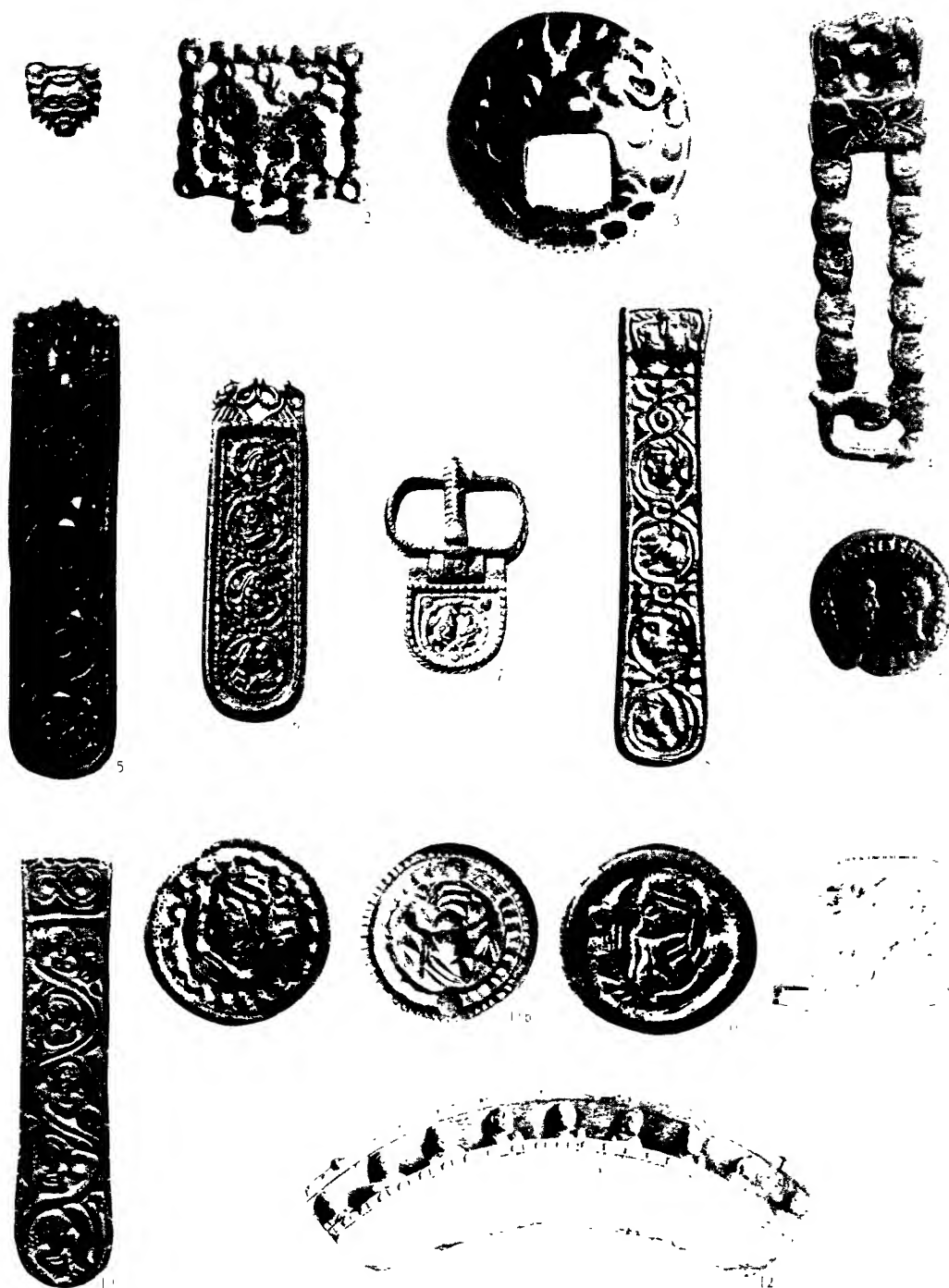
one hollowed bead which is larger in size. Rows of beads are very characteristic motifs of ancient Indian and Persian art. Similar girdle ornaments are to be found in great quantities both in the Far East [Mongolia and the Ordos territory] and in Hungary.¹

I publish here as a further analogy a bronze girdle ornament in a different shape though in the same style from Hungary (Pl. IX. Fig. 2), on which we see a griffin with the wing formed in Sasanian style. This plaque has a square frame consisting also of beads with a larger and hollowed one at each corner.

Related types are from the oasis near Khotan in Eastern Turkestan, the terracotta lion's heads framed with manes transformed as beads, published by Sir Aurel Stein in his *Ancient Khotan*² and other ones presented by Sir George Macartney to the Museum fuer Voelkerkunde in Berlin³ and the bronze lion's heads, set equally in frames of beads, from Northern China (Pl. IX. Fig. 3), presented by Mr. Geza Szabo to the Francis Hopp Museum.

It may be mentioned that the very often applied animal symbol of both Persian and Indian Art, the lion-griffin, plays only a limited part in the store of art symbols of Hungary of the migration period. Just as the eagle-griffin in China, it is to be seen only exceptionally in its complete form on the finds from Hungary. It is usually found on the top of girdle pendants and only in fragments, often in a shape which can also be interpreted to be a dragon. Girdle pendants of such a kind are crowned with two lion's or dragon's heads confronted with each other (Fig. 4) and sometimes horned (Fig. 5). But I think that I am not going too far in the differentiation of motifs if I see in some of these horned lion's or dragon's heads not the first-hand adaptation of Indo-Persian art, but the influence of the modified Chinese form of it⁴ brought back to the West by the Huns. I hold this opinion on account of two peculiarities, viz. the ribbon-like curved shaping of the mouth and the twofold, first backwards and then forwards bent horn, peculiarities very often met with on monsters represented in the art of the Chinese Han period⁵. Sometime we find girdle pendants crowned with clearly recognisable dragon's heads (Fig. 6). This is one more point of evidence that here we have to do with motifs of Chinese origin.

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1. I hope to be able to publish also Mongolian and Ordos analogies as Professor Andersson promised to give me some material from the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm.
 2. Sir Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, Pl. XLIV, Y. 0015, Terracotta from Yotkan.
 3. A. v. Lecoq, *Bilderatlas zur Kunst u. Kulturgeschichte Mittelasien*, Fig. 206.
 4. Stein, *op. cit.* Vol. II, Pl. LXX, N. XII, 3, Side; leg of chair, wood carving from Niya Site.
 5. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, Vol. III, Pl. LXXXIV, Ast. 1, 5, a oi, c; Figured silk fabric from Astana Cemetery.



But most of the symbols occurring on the bronzes from Hungary are of Irano-Hellenistic origin, pointing rather to Western than to Eastern Asia.

Much has been written about the importance of Asiatic Hellenism. We have witnessed a campaign from two extremely different standpoints. On the one side Professor Joseph Strzygowski with his oriental theory, on the other side Alois Riegl, the chief adherent of the importance of the "late Roman" art and the school of Berlin, v. Lecoq and Albert Gruenwedel, with their eyes on the immense influence of Asiatic Hellenism on the whole Orient and even on the Far East. The question of Hellenism is also now worth a profound study. It is commonly held that Hellenism is Orientalized Hellenic culture. I think it is no mere pun to say that for Asia on the contrary it is Westernized Orientalism, the addition of Western activity to Eastern tenacity and this became an everlasting current. I venture to call Asiatic, i.e., Iranian Hellenism a great Oriental Renaissance, with the aid of the West, but to the advantage of the East.

From the objects which I publish here the original of Fig. I must be the oldest. The lineament of it represents the style of the later Han-period. The one published as Fig. 3 seems to me to be of later date, but earlier than the specimen from Yotkan¹ which is certainly from the T'ang period. All of these Gorgon-like lion's heads are of Indo-Persian origin.

Irano-Hellenistic art objects occur in Hungary in the cemeteries of the period which I call Turanian, for it had begun with the movements started by the successive invasions of the Huns. These cemeteries mostly contain monuments of a mixed culture which was previously styled "Keszthelykultur". I call it Turanian. It is rooted partly in the Greco-Sarmatian, partly in the Helleno-Iranian civilisation with the admixture of Indian and Eastern Asiatic elements. On the basis of some finds of Roman coins (coins of the Emperors from Faustina, died in 170 A.D., to Valentinianus, died in 392), the oldest monuments of this Turanian culture can be dated from the Sarmatian period immediately preceding the Hunnish conquest, the youngest ones from the Avar period. The whole bulk has recently commonly been labelled as Avaric. I am, however, firmly convinced that this name is wrong. The chief disseminators of these products I suppose have been some Iranians, probably some clans of the Alans, who had also played a part in Hungary before the Huns, that is to say such elements as are called Sarmatians by the historians of Constantine the Great and were settled by this emperor in Southern Hungary and the Illyrian

1. See Note 2, p. 18.

province. The great number of these sepulchral finds as well as other circumstances considered by Joseph Hampel¹ and other investigators as Geza Nagy, lead us to the view that they were by no means witnesses only of the empire of the Huns or of that of the Avars.

May I now make some further remarks in order to support my theory that the Turanian art of the migration period in present Hungary is rooted also in Indo-Iranian Hellenism and that in Hungary this art was already existent in the first half of the fourth century.

Valuable proofs of this are girdle-ornaments with the figures of two Roman emperors facing each other (Figs. 6-8). They are represented (sometimes as sceptre-holders) in the portraits of Constantine II and Crispus ornamenting a coin (Fig. 9), minted by Constantine the Great in Sirmium certainly before 327, i.e., the date of the assassination of Crispus. The same composition also ornaments a buckle (Fig. 7) found in a grave at Ballagito-Kundomb not far from Szeged, Southern Hungary, a girdle-pendant from the same grave (Fig. 6), and another similar girdle-pendant from Southwestern Hungary, from the County Tolna, which is now in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. On another bronze girdle-pendant (Fig. 8) from Nemesvoelgy, Western Hungary, which is also in the Hungarian National Museum, we see the two heads confronted with and nearly touching each other. The make of this piece is very coarse : it is evidently a variation of the type quoted above.

All these girdle-pendants are ornamented with twists of ropes or rows of pearls intertwined not only with double heads but also with single ones, each having a sceptre. Similar kinds of twists are to be seen not only on Roman ornaments, but also on carved wooden beams found by Sir Aurel Stein in Lou-L'an.²

The chief patterns of these ornamental carvings are chains. They consist of alternate larger and smaller links. Parts of such chains are to be seen on the girdle-pendants from Hungary, attached on both sides to the smaller links of the twists thus filling also the space between the larger links.

I can also refer to a girdle-pendant (Fig. 10) in gilt bronze from Western Hungary (in the collection of Mr. Joseph Fleissig, Budapest) with busts of very coarse mould placed in the sinuosities instead of the twists of a scroll.³ This composition recalls the famous wall-painting from Miran discovered by Sir Aurel

1. *Altertuemer des fruehen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (1905) I, pp. 17—23.

2. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, Pl. 62, Nos. 1 or 10.

3. There seems to be the head of an elephant within the first scroll. The main motif of the scroll in this case is of Indian origin. Ed.

Stein representing crowned heads in garlands¹ and the clay-tablet from Afrasiyāb² with a coarse wavy garland combined with human heads.

I cannot but connect the Hellenistic motifs of the series of heads on the girdle-pendants from Hungary with an arch in Hatra, ornamented with heads and the remnant of a small Gandhāra stūpa (Fig. 12) presented to the Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest by Mr. Imre Schwaiger, Delhi, with a row of busts of men forming consoles; each of the busts is to be seen with one hand making a gesture. These gestures recall the bust on the seal of the tablets with Kharoṣṭhī-inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein near the Niya river.³ This seal is also in Hellenistic style whereas its inscription is Chinese. Sir Aurel Stein's finds have been always treated as sensational, because they combine remains of three different cultures.

Not unlike these is the girdle-pendant (Fig. 6) which has a frame consisting of Indo-Persian beads and on the top of which are two dragon-heads in Chinese style.

Smaller disc-shaped bronze-girdle ornaments, adorned with a diademed man's bust in sideview (Figs. 11a-d), are numerous among the Turanian relics of the migration period in Hungary. The persons represented on these ornaments hold a flower-like object, always of a very coarse make. As this motif belongs to the oldest and most common in Oriental art, there is no need to expatiate upon this subject. But it is worth mentioning that kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty are also represented on coins with similarly shaped objects, clubs, flowers or spikes in their hands. Doubtless, the invaders of present day Hungary brought from their former Eastern home the custom of representing a prominent person (a ruler?) with a symbol of power or adoration. Among the discs with one head there is a type with covered mouth (Fig. 11d). These might have been representations of Persian warriors.

The duplication of the motif seems to be a Roman modification of the original Oriental motif. Coins with the heads of two Roman emperors were minted also by kings of the Pontus and Bosporus. But on these coins we see only the head (as on the Roman coin Fig. 9) without the hands holding the sceptre or the club. The two busts with the sceptre on the girdle-pendants are evidently figures of Constantine II and Crispus, because the sceptres on the pieces in question are bent not unlike a boomerang. This might be a roughly drawn indication of the eagles which ornament the Roman sceptres.

1. Stein, *ibid.*, Pl. 57.

2. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVIII, S. 001.

3. *Ibid.* Vol. II, Pl. LXXII, N. XV, 167.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bronze belt ornament from the Ordos territory. Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.
2. Bronze belt ornament from Hungary. Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.
3. Gilt bronze ornaments from Northern China. Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.
4. Bronze girdle pendant from Hungary.
5. Bronze girdle pendant from Hungary.
6. Bronze girdle pendant from Hungary. (Ballagito-Kundomb near Szeged.) Municipal Museum, Szeged.
7. Bronze buckle from Hungary. (Ballagito-Kundomb near Szeged.) Municipal Museum, Szeged.
8. Bronze girdle pendant from Hungary. (Nemesvoelgy.) Museum, Magyarovar.
9. Roman coin with the heads of Constantine II and Crispus.
10. Gilt bronze girdle pendant from Hungary. Coll. Joseph Fleissig, Budapest.
11. Bronze belt-ornaments from Hungary. (a-b. Mosonyszentjanos ; c-d, Csuny.) a-b, Hungarian National Museum. c-d, Museum, Magyarovar. After Fettich.
12. Fragment of stūpa in Gandhāra style. (Svāt Valley ?) Francis Hopp Museum, Budapest.

NĀGARA, VESARA, DRĀVIḌA, ETC.

By S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

These are technical terms applied as a rule to classes of architectural and sculptural works. In their general application, they are usually taken to imply Northern, Dakhan, and South Indian styles generally. Other groups are occasionally referred to, and of these the most remarkable are Varāṭi, Kālingi, and even Pāncāli. Varāṭi, of course, would ordinarily be derived from Varāḍ (Barar), Kālingi, from Kālinga, and Pāncāli, similarly, from the Pāncāla. These again are usually combined with another term Sārvadeśika, common to all the Deśas or divisions of the country. The use of the last term in contrast with the others by itself would indicate that the differences are fundamentally according to the Deśa or region, in which the particular style prevails as the dominant style of the locality. These distinctions are made to apply not only to buildings ordinary, Gṛha or Vāstu, and palatial, Prāsāda, but also to the constituent parts of these buildings. Nay more, it is carried even to apply to the Liṅga in the sanctum as well as to the images of various kinds used as decorations on walls, pillars, etc. The distinction is again carried through both in regard to the walls and even pillars, to the same minutiae of detail as in the case of the buildings or structures as a whole. The divisions therefore seem fundamental to all works of art, that of the mason in particular, and seem definitely to be based upon localities primarily. Localities differ according to the character of the soil, the nature of the flora that grows from out of the soil and the characteristic qualities (guṇas) that they produce, and coming round again therefore to the features peculiar to large areas or regions of the country. On this basis, therefore, the primary division is Nāgara, India north of the Vindhya, Vesara, India between the Vindhya and the Krishna, corresponding to the Dakhan of secular history, and Drāviḍa or India south of the Krishna, corresponding to Tamil India.

It may be admitted without question that the derivation of the words Nāgara and Vesara is not as clear as Drāviḍa, Kālinga and even Varāṭa. But to infer from

this that they had no territorial significance would be to argue too much, in the face of the explicit statement by text writers. Whatever the derivation of these words, which we shall for the present have to leave unsettled, they are undoubtedly technical terms, and text books bearing on the subject must be regarded as authority for the significance of these technical terms. Our derivation may fail or may prove satisfactory. But that is something entirely different from what the artist or the craftsman understood by the terms. These are not the only two terms of architecture or iconography that require illumination. There are various others in similar familiar use. Their significance can be understood by reference to authoritative books. But their derivation is still unknown, at least so far as we are concerned. The terms *Pinḍi* and *Bheram* are examples from among a triplet *Liṅgam*, *Pinḍi*, *Bheram*. Of course from the context we could make out *Liṅgam* as the symbolical representation of *Śiva*, *Pinḍi* as the *Pīṭha* or the pedestal on which it is placed, and *Bheram* is the whole figure of a shapen image. The term *Nāgara* figures only in association with the *Nāgari* script, but even in association with women of a class, according to the *Kāmasūtra* of *Vātsyāyana*.¹

While these topics are discussed both in the *Śilparatna* and the *Mayamata* published in the *Trivandrum Archaeological Series*, as also in various other works, *Āgamāic*, architectural or other, still we have chosen the text from the *Kāmika Āgama*, because that is quoted as authority by other works referred to above, and because it devotes a whole chapter to the elucidation of these fundamental terms, the number of the chapter being 49, and the heading *Nāgarādi Vibheda Paṭalam*. The chapter is obviously intended to explain the difference between the terms, *Nāgara* etc.

For the purposes of this classification, the country is divided into three parts southwards from the Himalayas, the *Vindhya*s and the *Krishna* forming the two boundaries. This division is taken to be based upon the three well-known qualities, *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas*, of the earth in these parts. A fourth class in addition to *Nāgara*, *Vesara* and *Drāviḍa* is called *Sārvadeśika* as having features common to

1. But in regard to *Vesara*, from *Veśya*, Mr. Jayaswal, J. I. S. O. A., Vol I, No I. p. 57, has little authority to rest on, as his quotation from the *Śilparatna* fails to be of authority altogether. The passage *Śilparatna* I. Ch. XVI. 50 (*Trivandrum Sanskr. Series LXXV*) which he refers to where the term *Veśya* occurs, and which he interprets as the equivalent of ornamental, contains an obvious misreading. The term in use there being *Vaiśya*, one of the top strokes being missed perhaps by the scribe who made the manuscript copy from which the work is actually printed. That it is *Vaiśya* is unmistakable, not only by parallel references elsewhere, but the very *śloka* which refers to classes of buildings connected with *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya*. The next following division must be *Vaiśya* and not *Veśya*. In our present state of knowledge therefore, and, notwithstanding the fact that we do not know enough of the nature of these technical terms and their derivation, we should be well advised still to follow authority.

all these distinct divisions, thereby indicating clearly that the division is regional primarily. Two other divisions are quoted, such as Kālīṅga and Varāṭa, which obviously are again territorial. Then it is laid down that the buildings of the Nāgara class ought to be built on land where the Sāttvika quality predominates, Vesara where the dominant quality is Tamas, and Drāviḍa where Rajas predominates, the Sārvadeśika buildings being common to all. The other two classes Kālīṅga and Varāṭa are built where the two guṇas, Sattva and Rajas are found to prevail together, and perhaps in an equal degree.

Proceeding to buildings generally of an architectural character, such as ordinary residential buildings, palaces and temples, they contain features which fall into eight divisions : namely, (1) Mūlam (the base), (2) Masūkaram (the plinth over it), (3) then comes Janghā (torso), (4) then Kapotam or Śikharam, (5) Gaḷam (neck); above these (6) Āmalasāra surmounted by the (7) Kumbha (pot) or (8) Śūlam (finial). The distinction between the classes of buildings depends upon the variations in the disposition of these eight parts, and the different kinds of ornamentation. Nāgara buildings may have other finials than those indicated. They must have the eight component parts, must be decorated with pairs of cars, set at the angles against each other. The Bhadrakas (portico-mouldings ?) must be rising one above the other, must exhibit angles, in three, five, seven, or nine tiers, with projecting eaves with a series of cavettoes for birds, ornamented in either part with steps upwards from Prastara (entablature) to Prastara, provided with Ūha (moulding) and Pratyūha with dome-like turrets, either in singles or in pairs, with decorative work or without, and set with round Āmalasāra. They should also be provided with the halls called Śukhanāsi (vestibule) both in front and back as well as on the sides, which may also be shown with the subordinate parts. These decorative features may be varied according to the skill of the architect, and to subserve the demands of good appearance. Such a building is of the Nāgara type.

Where the building exhibits a well formed plinth over the base, with decorative work alike on the pillars and the walls intervening between pillars set apart at equal distances, and divided into parts in good symmetry, and showing distinctly the first eight parts, the building is of the Drāviḍa type. The Bhadrakas (porticoes) in these building ought to be set at the angles, outside the prescribed measurement. The intervals between pillars must be equal and the intervals between Prastaras (entablatures) must be built up. They should have pipes for running out the water, with statuettes in the intervals, decorated with garlands and carrying planks for setting the beads on. The edges must provide cavettoes. They must have the main entrance,

Brahmadvāra, with flags leading into the vestibule-hall (Śukhanāsi) provided also with a hall at the back, the larger sized ones falling into thirteen divisions and the smaller into twelve. They may have six or seven floors. They may be divided into fifteen or twenty one parts. Similarly these structures may be built with even eight or nine floors in houses. Other structures may have nine, sixteen, seventeen and even eighteen parts, with the usual six different forms,¹ each part adorned with decorative work. These might also contain emerging from the middle of the decorated tower (Vimāna), miniature structures of a similar kind. Buildings which in this wise are ornamented in the Vimāna are regarded as Drāviḍa, structures of the Drāviḍian class.

Where the setting is Drāviḍa with decorative work of the Nāgara kind, and otherwise containing features peculiar to Nāgara or Drāviḍa structures, with the roof either divided in parts or being undivided, the upper structures diminishing in size as they rise, buildings of this kind with the Vimānas decorated in this wise, are called Vesara. Where from the base buildings can be raised in series one above the other, in which the pillars are decorated with portico-mouldings carrying above these suitable neck, dome and spire; the different parts of which are suitably decorated with Bhadrakas, the interspaces as well being filled with decorative work; in which even the pillars which are set on the floor are of the form of statues, the decorative work being arranged in line, the eaves projecting from the Prastara so as to cast a shadow; such buildings so decorated are described as of the Varāṭa class.

Without supporting arches or statues, decorated with flags on the outside, provided with subordinate arches or statues under the beam and decorated with members standing erect or in postures of flexion, all the parts alike covered with decorative work, being either square or octagonal with both neck and dome, buildings such as these are regarded as of the Kālīṅga variety. Buildings provided with water pipes and decorative arches, or statues ornamented with garlands on the neck, provided with dovecots, the main entrance bedecked with flags, falling into six classes in respect of form, buildings such as these constitute the class called Sārvadeśika. Nāgara buildings ought not to show broken sides which must be equal. They must conform to the measurements prescribed, while in Drāviḍa buildings, the defects in the sides are made up by the provision of decorative Bhadrakas. Buildings of the Vesara class should be without shortage or excess of the prescribed measurements; must be provided with front portals and must rise in tiers one above the other marked by cross beams.

1. The eight divisions mentioned above less the base or pedestal, and the finial or spire.

One other feature deserves mention, namely the general shape. In some cases, the variation of shape applies to the whole building beginning with the base and running consistently through all the parts to the finial. In some cases, this is prescribed only for the upper part, the *Vimāna*, etc. In the *Nāgara* class, it is the square form that is prescribed. In the *Drāviḍa*, it is the octagonal shape usually, the hexagonal being permissible also. While in the *Vesara*, the form is circular, at least curvilinear if it is not exactly circular. The whole building from top to bottom ought to be square in *Nāgara*. In the *Drāviḍa* this formation applies only to the structure above the ground floor. These characteristics of the different styles are again maintained consistently through the subordinate parts. These subordinate parts have to show six out of the eight features, with which we began, the six being those omitting the first, or the base and the last, or the finial, out of the eight given. This consistency of form is insisted on not merely in respect of whole structures or buildings,¹ but is held to apply with the same consistency to parts, such as the *Vimāna*, etc. Furthermore it is held to apply, as far as may be, not merely to the forms of God installed in the sanctum whatever the actual form be. One will notice this in the shape of the *liṅga* of the *Rājasimha* type in *Māmallapuram*. It falls into three parts ; square below the ground level and above to a certain height ; octagonal above this through the greater parts ; and circular at the top, somewhat less in length than the octagonal part. These are described respectively as *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*, a *Paurāṇic* classification adopted also in the *Āgama* literature for architectural and other purposes as well. But even in regard to the statues forming part of the decorations of these buildings, the whole of these various divisions is described in Chapter 49 of the *Kāmika Āgama*.²

1. *Mayamatam*, Ch. 19.

2. See also *Śilparatna*.

THE PAINTED SARĀS OF RURAL BENGAL

By G. S. DUTT, I. C. S.



A very interesting example of the close connection between art and ritual is furnished by the painted earthen Sarās or covers which are in extensive use in rural Bengal even at the present day among Hindu women of all classes on the occasion of the annual harvest festival which is known as the Lakṣmī pūjā. Lakṣmī is the goddess of plenty and is therefore dearly beloved of Hindu women of Bengal as the goddess of the harvest. Her special abode is the detached paddy granary, of a circular shape, which forms an integral part of every Bengali village home. On a full moon day in autumn in every year the goddess is worshipped by the women in every Hindu home in the villages of Bengal with a great deal of simple ceremony. One integral part of the ritual consists in the use of the painted earthen covers or Sarās referred to above. These Sarās are generally painted by the men of the potter caste assisted by their women-folk. On each Sarā there is invariably a representation of the goddess Lakṣmī who usually has two female attendants, one on each side and there is usually also a representation of a comb symbolical of her toilet and of an ear of paddy in each of her hands symbolical of a plentiful harvest. But the most interesting symbol is the mount on which the goddess rides. This is an owl, the watchful night-bird with vigilant eyes which carries on a ceaseless warfare against the rats and other vermin which commit depredations on the paddy granaries and by killing which the owl has acquired the high privilege of being the mount of the goddess.



Besides the goddess, her mount and two female attendants the covers often contain representations of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā who are the most popular deities in Hindu Bengal and often the representations of these latter deities are given the more prominent place, Lakṣmī and her attendants taking a subordinate place at the bottom. This is evinced by the larger of the two Sarās (Pl. X) from my collection. In the smaller of the two Sarās Lakṣmī is represented as sitting face to face with her divine spouse, the god Viṣṇu ; and both are shown as riding on the back of the owl (inset on p. 28).

Both the Sarās are contemporary productions, the larger one (Pl. X) having been procured from the village Nalia in the district of Faridpur and the smaller one (p. 28) from the village Senhati in the Khulna district. The covers are round and saucer-shaped without any base but with a turned-up rim. The concave side is always left bare and the painting is always on the convex side.

The hereditary talent of the village potters of Bengal is revealed by the manner in which the lines, the structure and inclination of the figures have been adapted to the curvature of the surface of the cover. This is particularly shown in the strikingly sweeping curves with which the pattern of the eye brows and wings of the owl has been brought out in the smaller of the Sarās (p. 28). The colour scheme in the large Sarā (Pl. X) which is 16 inches in diameter, is as follows : ground yellow, trees red, Kṛṣṇa's upper body, hand and face blue ; legs yellow ; Rādhā's body yellow, dress red. Of the two attendants : body, yellow ; gown red ; and the front stripes of the sārī blue and yellow. The rings round the rim and the bands in the middle are in alternate sweeps of red, blue and black. In the smaller Sarā which is 10 inches in diameter, the ground is red ; Viṣṇu's body blue and Lakṣmī's yellow ; Viṣṇu's dress in yellow stripes and Rādhā's in blue stripes, the intervening band in yellow. The crossed circles are yellow. The rim is painted red with radiating yellow bands. The sweep of the eye brow and wings of the owl is black, yellow and red.

After the pūjā ceremony is over the Sarās are hung up on the wall with a string passed through two holes at the top. They form a wall decoration in all Hindu homes in rural Bengal.

PERIYAPURĀṆA SCENES IN DĀRĀSURAM TEMPLE

By P. V. JAGADISA AYYAR.

Dārāsūram, a station on the Madras-Danushkōḍi main line of the South Indian Railway is almost a south-eastern suburb of Kumbakonam city, near which stood a palace of the later Coḷa kings. The locality where the palace stood goes by the name Śōlamāḷigai, which in Tamil means the palace of the Coḷas. Occasional diggings for foundations of buildings etc. are said to bring forth traces of past structures.

The temple here¹ is dedicated to Śiva and the liṅga in the sanctum is huge as well as the tower over it. All that remains of the courts which surrounded the present buildings, are the remains of the gopuras of some outer courts. The tank in front is almost a square of nearly 250 feet width, getting its supply of water from the river Kāverī, flowing at a short distance. The bali-pīṭha (seat where offerings are placed to propitiate the gods) on a raised platform, is located by the side of the flag-staff where worshippers of the temple prostrate before entering the inner court. There is a sculpture of a gate-keeper on the right of the entrance leading to the inner court, which is said to have been brought from Kalyāṇapuram in the Bombay Presidency by the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja I (1018-1052 A. D.) in token of his victory over the Cāḷukyas, who had their capital there. The maṇḍapa in front of the main shrine, resembling a chariot with stone wheels and horses on sides, has interesting scenes from Śaivite Purāṇas.

In the belt of the wall surrounding the sanctum are in relief scenes from the life-history of Śaiva devotees of Periyapurāṇa divided into various sections. The labels relating to the incidents are inscribed over the sculptures in Tamil characters. Unlike the other Purāṇas, the Periyapurāṇa is the only work in Tamil literature that records the lives of the historical personages that revived Śaivism after it fell a prey to Jainism and Buddhism in South India. The Śaivites recite this work in the early morning like the Rāmāyaṇa, Gīta etc. The personages dealt with therein are men and

1. See E. B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, Pl. LXXX.





women of all castes and creeds. They withstood all trials and on giving sufficient proof of their faith they were raised to the rank of Śaiva devotees. Their figures are installed on the inner side of the covered raised verandah of the court-wall next to the sanctum. Besides the daily worship, festivals to them are conducted on the days they left this mundane world. This is the only temple with sculptural representations of the events connected with the lives of Śaiva devotees with the names engraved over the scenes.

The god in the temple is named Airāvateśvara, though in inscriptions he is named Rājarājesvaramuḍaiyār and the place as Rājarājapuram and Dārāsuram. Evidently the Coḷa King Rājarāja I (1146-72 A. D.) who constructed temples, palaces etc., also built this temple. This finds further support from the fact that one of the halls in the temple is named after a title of this king as "Rājagambhīram maṇḍapam".

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Pl. XI. Fig. 1. Naminandyadigal. At a place called Emapperūr in the Coḷa kingdom there lived a Brāhman devotee of Išvara named Naminandi Adigal. He used to go to Tiruvārūr daily and worship the deity there. One day a deep desire to light a large number of lamps everywhere in the temple took hold of him. So he unwittingly entered the house of a "Samaṇa" (Buddhist) and asked some ghee for the purpose. He got in reply a curt 'you may use water in place of ghee' from the inmate of the house.

Disappointed and dejected, he went back to the temple and prayed fervently to Išvara. Then a voice from space told him to make use of water in place of ghee saying that it would burn and he did so accordingly. To his intense wonder and delight the lamps formed of baked clay cups filled with water burned beautifully and from that day forward he used to keep a large number of lamps burning in the temple throughout the night.

This act of Naminandi undermined the prestige of the "Samaṇas" there. Coming to know of this the Coḷa king made him the manager of the temple affairs in which capacity he acquitted himself wonderfully.

Pl. XI. Fig. 2. Kotpuli Nāyanār. Once upon a time, there lived in Nāttiyattāṅkuḍi in the Coḷa country a devotee of Śiva named Kotpuli Nāyanār. He belonged to the Vellala community and was the commander-in-chief of the royal army. What he got as remuneration for his services from the royal treasury, he was in the habit of spending in the services of Išvara and this was going on for a considerable length of time. One day he received orders from the king to proceed forthwith on an expedition. Considering that he might be absent for a long time, he arranged to add a large quantity of grain to the stock on hand so that it might not be wanting to carry on the work of service to Išvara by feeding a large number of his devotees every day during his absence. After having given strict injunction to his relatives not to appropriate any portion of it under any circumstances, he departed with his army.

Shortly after his departure a great famine visited the country and the people died by hundreds. The king's relatives suffering from the pangs of hunger resolved to appropriate the corn stored by the king and to make good the quantity taken even before his return. No sooner it was thought than it was carried into effect and the paddy in the king's granary was soon converted into rice and disposed of rapidly. Meanwhile, having vanquished his foes Kotpuli Nāyanār returned home with immense wealth which was his share of the spoil from the enemy's countries. Learning how the grain stored for the service of Išvara had gone, he blazed in anger. Closing the egress from his palace, he killed all those of his relatives including father, mother, wife and children, who had partaken of the food obtained from the stored up grain. Even a suckling child, the only surviving one, in a family was not spared, since the milk it subsisted on was from the food taken by its mother out of Śiva's grain.

Išvara was greatly pleased with his absolute devotion to him and raised him along with the relatives he had slain to the regions of bliss.

Pl. XII. Fig. 1. Relief panel in between Periyapurāṇa scenes. See also Pl. XII. Fig. 2.

Pl. XII. Fig. 2 refers to Āṭṭuḍaiyyapiḷḷayār (Sambandhar).

SCULPTURES AND BRONZES FROM PAGAN

BY NIHARRANJAN RAY.

The temples of Pagan¹ "are among the noblest monuments in Indo-China, and they are the one positive contribution Burma has made to humanity."² To-day one can see how the builders of these temples, those vainglorious kings and tyrants, tried to attain a historical immortality in tens and hundreds of these monuments,

1. Pagan, the classical seat of ancient Burmese monarchy, became the capital of Burma from the middle of the eleventh century A.D. when Anawrahta conquered Thaton, the capital of the Talaings in Lower Burma, in 1054 A.D. From that time onward up till the sack of Pagan by the Tartar hordes of Kublai Khan in 1283 A.D., and the consequent extinction of the dynasty the royal capital was a centre of great artistic and architectural activities. But it must not be assumed that Pagan, before the accession to the throne of Anawrahta, was a barren city without any artistic or architectural activities or any outside intercourse. The contrary is rather shown by historical and archæological finds. It is true that the chiefs of Pagan who preceded the dynasty of Anawrahta had neither the wealth nor the power of their successors, and it did not fall to their lot to make of Pagan the great city that she became after the conquest of Thaton. But the fact that Pyinbya, as early as 849 A.D., considered it necessary to fortify the city with a strong wall and a strong gate that encircle a large area of the ruined city is significant; and it can be assumed that the city had already by the time of Pyinbya, who is described in the local chronicles as the 33rd king of the Pagan dynasty, grown to considerable importance. The dynasty, as asserted by the chronicles, had already been ruling there for several centuries and the country had naturally opened up intercourse with the neighbouring countries, at least with the Eastern provinces of India and Southern China. As for relations with Eastern India, evidences are too many to leave any room for doubt. Mahāyānism and Mahāyānist Tantrikism which had already been the religion of a considerable section of the people must have been introduced into the country decades before Anawrahta strove successfully to make Theravāda Buddhism the religion of the state and the people. (Harvey, *History of Burma*, p. 17; Ray, "A Note on Bodhisattva Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna Gods in Burma," *Buddhist Studies* Vol. I; *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, pp. 3 and 13; Duroiselle, "The Arts of Burma and Mahāyāna Buddhism," *A. R. A. S. I.* 1915-16.). The discovery of a number of terracotta votive tablets with effigies of the Buddha that can stylistically be dated earlier than the 11th century, and with Sanskrit inscriptions in eastern Nāgarī characters, palaeographically dated in the 9th and 10th centuries, also point to the same conclusion. (Recent discoveries have proved that Sanskrit was known in the royal capital some centuries earlier, 'at least as the language of the Indian court-astronomers, and perhaps also as the classical language of the Southern Buddhist sect whose canon was Sanskritical, *An. R. A. S. I.*, 1926 27, p. 161ff.) And one or two fragments of stone images discovered from amidst the debris of the ruins of the old city can also stylistically be ascribed to the pre-Anawrahta period. It is moreover easy to visualise the numerous temples, of gods of different pantheons, that must have stood there before the Shwezigon (1059) or the Ānanda (1090) or the Thatbinyu (1144). In fact these monuments presuppose a local building and architectural activity of at least two or three centuries.

2. Harvey, *op. cit.* p. 59.

more or less in ruins, and spread over an area of hundred square miles. From amidst the debris of scattered ruins, as well as from the niches and corridors of the comparatively well-preserved edifices, have been picked up a large number of sculptures. They afford an interesting study in Hindu and Buddhist iconography, primarily Buddhist; but they are more interesting from the point of view of the vicissitudes of Indian sculptural art outside its natural boundaries. The most representative collection of the stone sculptures of Pagan can be found in the niches of the central obelisk and the outer walls of the Nat-hlaung Kyaung, the only ancient Brāhmaṇical temple now existing in Burma, and in the large number of niches and corridors of the celebrated Ānanda temple, built by the great Buddhist king of Burma, Kyanzittha; (1084-1112), son of Anawrahta. Besides these, there are smaller groups in other temples as well, for example, in the Shwezigon, the Ptilo-minlo, the two Seinnyet temples, the Patothamya, the Kyaubaukkyi and a few others. Stray examples from among the scattered ruins of the city have been gathered in the 'small museum at Pagan built near the Ānanda temple. But all these scattered groups reduce themselves to such characteristic types with regard to style, appearance and iconography, that they may roughly be considered to have their best representatives in the large collection of the Ānanda temple. Of extant examples in bronze we have but few examples. The majority of them, miniature in size, are at present in the Ānanda Museum, Pagan. Only about half a dozen can still be found in situ, as for example, the four colossal standing images of the Buddha sheltered in the niches facing the four cardinal points of the famous Shwezigon temple, and another of similar description in a chapel within the precincts of the Ānanda Kyaung daik.

The majority of them belong undoubtedly to the Pagan dynasty, i. e., from the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth; but in the absence of even a single dated image one has to fall back upon a stylistic consideration of the sculptures themselves; but this even, in the case of the Pagan sculptures, is a precarious procedure to depend upon. The art of Pagan during this period was the direct product of the court which patronised, as we shall see later on, an imported art-tradition. The art of the people which must have existed from very early times seems to have been silenced by the imported tradition; but this was only temporarily, for the indigenous art-tradition seems to have slowly but gradually begun to re-assert itself; traces of this are already visible by about the end of the eleventh century till it transformed the imported art-tradition at the same time being itself, no doubt, influenced by it. Any definite chronological sequence cannot be established, but three more or less definite stages in the

process of the development of the art of Pagan during this period can be traced, one stage overlapping to a certain extent on the next.

Geographically the art of the Pagan dynasty is practically limited to Pagan itself though the Pagan empire had gradually expanded from a chieftainship to a wide dominion covering almost the entire peninsula up the gulf of Martaban. The art of Pagan was, as already pointed out, a direct product of the court, and the imported art-tradition patronised by the court was mainly centred in the capital city. Some of the kings of the dynasty, it is true, built temples at Minbu, Shwebo, Mandalay, and other places in the Myingyan, Pakokku, Thayetmyo and other districts, and even in the Shan States, but sculptures were hardly used to embellish them. The main image, almost always more than life size, at the sanctum was more often than not built of brick and cement—Pagan has a number of them in her ruined temples—and these images have mostly crumbled down. And, besides this main image of the Buddha at the sanctum, there was hardly any necessity, whether for worship or decoration, of any other image or sculptural object when, especially, the temples mostly were dedicated to the creed of Theravāda Buddhism. Exception is only made in the case of the more important temples of Pagan, even when they belong, and most of them, in fact do belong, to the Theravāda faith; and one can see the niches and obelisks of a good number of them decorated with sculptures depicting incidents from the life of the Buddha, in a variety of poses and attitudes. That the Pagan temples were so embellished is only natural in the circumstances, for they were built under the direct care and patronage—read the numerous dedicatory inscriptions of the different temples—of the kings. Skilled sculptors with an art-tradition of centuries at their back were readily available at the capital where they had migrated either on royal appointment or of themselves to earn a living on their profession.

Iconographically, the Pagan sculptures belong to three different pantheons, Brāhmaṇical, Mahāyānist and Hinayānist, the last one claiming the largest number. But there is hardly any difference in artistic conception. The seated Brahmā in the Pagan museum (N. Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, Plate XXII, Fig. 28) does not essentially differ from a similarly seated Buddha in the Ānanda temple nor is the figure of the standing Viṣṇu of the Nat hlaung Kyaung (*ibid.* Plate VII, Fig. 8) very different from any standing Buddha image of the period (Plate XIII, Fig. 2). They are distinguished by their positions and attributes and associates alone.¹ Sculptures of female figures are comparatively very small in number, and belong to a type long established in Indian art and carried through ages and schools of artistic activity.²

1. Cf. Kramrisch, *Pāla & Sena Sculpture*, p. 111.

2. *Ibid.* p. 116.



The material of the stone sculptures is a sort of hard sand-stone of greyish tinge quarried from neighbouring hills. The stone must have been quarried in small pieces as no large size image or relief has yet been discovered. Almost all the stone images are stelae, carved in relief, but already in the sculptures of the Ānanda temple the relief, in most cases, is practically independent from its back ground, the image standing as it were with its back against the slab. It often carries the effect of a figure in the round, though a fully three-dimensional sculpture is never achieved. In some of the slabs where there is scope for decorative motifs or additional figures of man and animals, the stelae are carved in graded relief.

The sculptures of Pagan have their best representatives in the large group of single images and reliefs in the niches and corridors of the Ānanda temple. It is proposed, therefore, to base this study mainly on the stone sculptures of this temple,¹ bringing, however, into perview those sculptures from other temples as well as from the collection in the local museum, which mark any significant departure.

The majority of the stone sculptures of the Ānanda temple relate to the subject of the Buddha's career until his attainment of the Bodhi, the series beginning with the request of the gods in the Tuṣita heaven to the Bodhisattva to be reborn in his very last existence and to become the Buddha. They are roughly eighty in number but are not the only stone sculptures of the temple, for the walls of the corridors house in their niches numerous Buddha figures, either seated or standing, in various attitudes. Besides these, there are others still which illustrate scenes from Jātaka stories as well as episodes after the Enlightenment of the Master. Some of the niches are filled with Buddhas, large and small. They are all of the same type. The stone sculptures in other temples of Pagan, in the Kyaubaukkyi, the Nagayon, or Seinnyet Ama, for example, relate to similar subjects.

The sculptures of the Ānanda temple, belong to the earliest phase of the art of Pagan. They show well-established features known at least from some time past at Pagan. But extant examples of the pre-Anawrahta period are very rare: one or two fragments of sculptures only may be referred to that period. Such for example, is the seated image of Brahmā in the Ānanda museum or the small seated figure of Mañjuśrī in the same museum. Though they may be referred to a slightly earlier age, they belong nevertheless to the same phase of art as the sculptures of the Ānanda temple themselves. So do the Brāhmaṇical sculptures

1. Illustrations of a large number of the stone sculptures of the Ānanda Temple appear on Plates XXXI—XXXVII, A. R., A. S. I., 1913—14.

of the Nat-hlaung temple as well as the scattered Buddhist images of the Nagayon, the Seinnyet temples, the Shwesandaw or the Shwezigon, and the majority of the terra-cotta votive tablets inscribed with Sanskrit and Pāli legends in Nāgarī characters, sometimes even with the name of the king.¹

It is apparent, even at a first glance, that the sculptures of the Ānanda temple as well as of similar temples of Pagan are adaptations of an accepted formula. This is best seen in the endless repetitions of the same bodily form, facial type, standard poses and attitudes, similar treatment of dress and ornaments, and of composition. Whether it is a Buddha or Bodhisattva, seated or standing, or an attendant god or king, the bodily type is one of seeming elegance, within a stiffened outline (Plate XIII, Figs 1, 2; XIV, Figs 2, 3; XV, 1, 2). The two legs, specially in the standing figures are long and rigid, as if they were two stone columns, marked by an incised curved line where the stiff knees are to be imagined (Plate XIII, Figs 1, 2); and the feet with their toes rowed in a line are in such instances very stiff and heavy. But the hands find beautiful, though, conventional, expression in the wavy lines of the sensitive fingers (Plate XIV, Fig. 2; XV, 2).

A broad, but slightly elongated facial type is ordinarily shown with a pointed chin and a pair of long drawn eyes rising from the root of the nose to the temples, and a mouth pointed into triangular shape with corners raised high into the cheeks (Plate XV, Figs. 1, 2). With others a roundish cut of the face with cheek bones raised high seems to have found favour, and the pointed chin is slightly pressed upwards (Plate XXXIII, Fig. 19; XXXV, 37, 38, 39, A. R., A. S. I. 1913—14.)

As with regard to appearance so with regard to treatment as well. The modelling is hard and petrified and sometimes even coagulated (Plate XV, Fig. 5); in rare examples only there is a softer treatment of the flesh, at least in the upper portion of the body; but even there the harshness of the outline is sufficiently marked.

A fragment of a terracotta plaque with an effigy of the Buddha found within the precincts of the Ānanda temple is one such example, and may be considered as representing the best that the Pagan group of sculptures can offer (Plate XV, Fig. 1). The physiognomical type has a conventional charm. Similar is the seated figure of Mañjuśrī from the Ānanda Museum. It seems, stylistically to be contemporaneous with the fragment just noticed. An earlier example is no doubt the image of Brahmā, from the same museum. The face and the body yield to the same set and conventional type, but it is the modelling, the treatment of the flesh wherein it differs from its younger relative. The modelling is more soft and less petrified; the rigid tension that was later on to get the upper hand is not yet in evidence, nor is the definiteness of the outline so marked.

Each individual example from amidst the ruins of existing monuments of Pagan conforms, strangely enough, to the self-same characteristics; and whatever more or less difference can be detected, for example, in the form of the eyes or the mouth, of the face and the body, or in general treatment, is only one of degree or of variations in execution or determined by the skill of the craftsman. These characteristics cling tenaciously to even the feminine sculptures of our group, with this difference, however, that the petrifying tendency of the modelling is still more accentuated.

In the midst of the lifeless monotony of the Ānanda temple sculptures two figures stand out in their peculiarity. One is that of Kyanzittha (Pl. XIII, Fig. 3), the builder of the Ananda, and the other of Shin Arahan (Pl. XIII, Fig. 4), his preceptor and Primate of the kingdom. These two are the earliest and perhaps the only portrait sculptures in Burma; they are evidence enough of the power of the colonial artists of Pagan. Both of them kneel with folded hands at the feet of the gigantic Buddha that stands before them—but their facial type is different—.

1. In a few instances at least the names of Anawrahta and Kyanzittha do occur inscribed. See for example, A. R., A. S. I. 1926-27 pl. 61 ff.



Shin Arahan was a Talaing with a distinct Mongoloid cut of the face, while Kyanzittha possessed the sharp features of an Indian hero : whatever his father may have been, his mother had been an Indian princess.

The Buddhist sculptures of Pagan do not in any way differ, stylistically speaking, from the Brāhmaṇical sculptures of the Nat-hlaung temple, the only ancient Brāhmaṇical temple now existing in Pagan, in fact in the whole of Burma. It is however necessary to consider the significance of a south Indian Tamil inscription that was found in the debris of the eastern vestibule of the temple. The inscription is palaeographically dated in the 13th century A. D. and records the gift by a Vaiṣṇava saint, a native of Cranganore in Malabar, of a maṇḍapa in the temple of "Nānādeśi Vinnagar" which according to Dr. Hultsch "means the Viṣṇu temple of those coming from various countries."¹ This name shows that the temple which was situated in the Buddhist country of Burma had been founded and resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from various parts of the Peninsula"¹. Duroiselle thinks, perhaps rightly, that the Viṣṇu temple mentioned in the epigraph refers to the Nat-hlaung temple which he is inclined to assign to the 13th century². But I have tried to show elsewhere that the epigraph refers not to the erection of the temple itself, but to a maṇḍapa which might well have been added latter on. The temple, if we are to judge by the sculptures that adorn its niches (as also by its architectural features) cannot date later than the middle of the eleventh century.

The images of the Nat-hlaung temple (For Illustrations : See the present author's *The Nat-hlaung Temple and its Gods*, Ind. Ant. 1932, Nov-Dec.) are all very badly defaced.

As with stone sculptures, so with bronzes, whatever be their subject-matter : they hardly call for comment or consideration.

Different from the usual type however, is the life-size standing Buddha at the south face of the Shwezigon pagoda (Pl. XIII, Fig. I) with his three other associates at the three other cardinal points of the sacred monument. It is related to it by the similarities in the general attitude and in the treatment of the saṅghāti. For the rest there is a considerable amount of difference in the treatment of the face and of the other parts of the body. The hair is as usually treated in curls ; but they are less ornamental, flattened considerably, and crowned by a pointed uṣṇīṣa at the top. The round heavy face with high cheeks is of a child-like chubby type, somewhat

1. A. R., A. S. B., 1902-3, p. 7.

2. A. R., A. S. I., 1913-14, pp. 136-137.

Mongolian in appearance. The body is broader, more fleshy and the waist is comparatively less attenuated.

The composition of the Pagan group of sculptures is limited to a few set schemes, traditionally handed down from early times. The upper portion of the stela is often left blank, but sometimes two flying Apsaras or two divines are placed on two sides. The principal figure occupies invariably the central position and the associates and devotees are distributed evenly on two sides, either standing or seated. When the number of devotees are too many for the space on the sides, there is often a rectangular horizontal panel below the main figure in which they are accommodated (Plate XV, Fig. 3). If the characters or episodes are too many on the sides, a very schematic composition is resorted to; the surface in such a case is distributed in compartments, but all of which are related, in a way, to the central figure. The scheme naturally follows the form of the stela, the top being occupied either by a device or by figures arranged horizontally. The majority of the Ānanda temple reliefs have architectural settings in which case the composition is more simple, the main figure always occupying the central position, and the associates being distributed on the sides. In certain reliefs, the architectural setting, is sometimes finished by animal-vegetal (e.g. haṁsalatā) designs, following the outline of the shoulders and the head, and enclosing an elaborately decorated aureole. This is, however, always carved in a lower plane than the image itself. Some of the reliefs are partitioned in two or more horizontal sections of different size.

Of accessory motifs, the Pagan sculptures have but few. The lotus throne which is one principal motif, is always shown with double petals, deeply carved with welldefined edges. Another important element is the halo at the back of the figure which along with the architectural frame often affords a well-known design in which the haṁsalatā and hanging tendrils play a prominent part. The treatment of trees, whenever they are introduced for purposes of the subject-matter, is abstract, the leaves and branches being rendered in a summary way. In one or two examples in bronze, the stela consists of two upright posts fixed at the two sides of the lotus-throne, and two leogryphs, one standing on each side, fill in the space between the respective arm of the main figure and the post. With the heads of the posts as well as those of the two leogryphs as its base which ends in two makaras there finishes up a triangular motif having at its top a decorative kīrtimukha disgorging, it seems, downwards on two sides two creepers ending in haṁsas. It shelters the halo of the Buddha schematically shown as a lotus design.



Origins : It is obvious that these sculptures which are examples of an already well-matured tradition have a history behind them. This history was not native to the soil of Pagan, for hardly have we here any earlier sculpture tradition. Was it then native to the soil of Burma, that is to say, to that of old Prome, the capital of the P'iao (=P'yu), or that of Thaton, the capital of the Talaings ? For, Prome and Thaton were the only two earlier centres of art and culture in Burma, so far as can be judged by extant archaeological remains. But this tradition is not indigenous, it has a strong impress from the Indian side. In the case of old Prome it came from either the Andhra-Pallava school of southern India or the later Gupta school of eastern India, while in the case of the old Talaing capital it seems to have been from Orissa. To none of these schools of art, however, can we affiliate the sculptural tradition of Pagan.

But one thing is obvious : the models responsible for the sculptural art of Pagan must have come from some contemporary school of art in India. Let us therefore cross the Bay of Bengal, and landing at the port of ancient Tāmralipti acquaint ourselves with the art treasures of the two provinces of Bihar and Bengal. These two provinces were for more than four centuries, from about the middle of the eighth to the end of the twelfth, ruled over by the Pāla and Sena dynasties.¹ It is easy to discover in the productions of this school, the prototype of the Pagan images.

To show the affinities one may refer to two small stone votive tablets recovered from the ruins of Pagan, illustrating scenes from Buddha's life² (Pl. XV, Fig. 4). The similarities in arrangement, facial and physiognomical type, attitudes and artistic treatment with those of the reliefs of the Eastern school are so remarkable that they led M. Duroiselle to think that these two slabs were imported into Burma from India though he could not ascertain the exact source. Although the tablets are Burmese, the source of this influence has now been indicated.

The parallelism thus seems to be definitely established. And it can only lead to one conclusion, namely, that craftsmen from different centres of Bihar and Bengal must have migrated during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries to Pagan, the capital city of Burma and they alone should be held responsible for the large number of stone sculptures and bronzes that hail from Pagan. Some of them might have permanently settled there for purposes of opening out a new field for their work, and were readily appreciated not only by the local people but by south-Indian emigrants as well. There is abundant evidence of a mutual intercourse between Bengal-Bihar and Burma during this period. In the ruins of Pagan have been discovered a large number, almost a deluge, of terra-cotta votive tablets with Pāli and Sanskrit epigraphs in east-Indian Nāgarī characters (recording

1. Kramrisch, "Pala and Sena Sculptures", p. 107.

2. The two slabs measure 8", 6½" and 7", 6" respectively ; and were discovered in a field close to the Shwezigon Pagoda, and within the debris of a ruined pagoda near Myinpagan. A. R., A. S. B., 1923, pp. 30-31.

in most cases the well-known Buddhist formula as well as dedicatory lines containing names of the kings of Pagan) which can palaeographically be assigned to about the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of them were evidently imported from the main land; but a large majority were cast and moulded locally. These terra-cotta votive tablets mostly bear on them effigies of the Buddha with or without his disciples and associates, (sometimes, though rarely enough, with the main incidents of his life in relief); they are, in fact, replicas of similar tablets found at Nālandā, Bodhgayā, Sārnāth, Pahārpur and other sites of Bihar and Bengal, during this period. Moreover, we have the definite and almost conclusive evidence of Tārānāth who testifies to a very intimate relation of the Magadhan countries of eastern India with Pukham or Pagan during the rule of the Pālas and especially during that of the Senas.¹

And this relation was nothing if it was not reciprocal. With Burmans, Bodhgayā, in fact, all important localities of Bihar, are holy places of pilgrimage, even to-day. An early example is that of king Kyanzittha, the builder of the Ānanda, who himself 'gathered together gems of diverse kinds and sent them in a ship to build up the holy temple of Bodhgayā and to offer lights which should for ever burn there. Thereafter king Kyanzittha built a-new, making them finer than before, the great buildings of king Asoka, for they were old and in ruins.'² Another king, Alaungsithu, grandson of Kyanzittha, sent an envoy with funds to repair the holy shrine at Bodhgayā, a fact still in record in an inscription at the shrine.³ In Pagan itself there is a temple, the Mahābodhi, an unsuccessful imitation of the celebrated temple of Bodhgayā.

The kings of Pagan also entered into matrimonial relations with princes and princesses of royal families of eastern India; Kyanzittha's mother seems to have been an Indian princess; she was a bride from Vesali which should be identified rather with the ancient city of the same name in eastern India than with Vesali in Arakan. But of more definite historical import is the celebrated love-romance of the prince of Pateikkara, identified with Patikara in the modern district of Tipperah, with Shwe-einthe, the only daughter of king Kyanzittha, and the marriage of a Pateikkara princess with king Alaungsithu.⁴

Burmanisation : The sculptures and bronzes of Pagan were influenced by local types and traditions. Changes were effected gradually and finally completely transformed the imported tradition.

Already in those very sculptures that show remarkably close affinities with the Eastern school, a discerning eye can detect certain local elements, for example, in the characteristic architectural background of the majority of the reliefs of the Ānanda temple. The types of buildings represented are far from Indian, but are frankly local i. e., Burmese; these buildings were evidently made of wood, and were translated into stone on the reliefs by the artists, who presumably were Indians, from the models they had before their eyes in the city. Some of them show in their different pedestals (piṭhas) (e. g. Plate XXXVII, Figs. 55, 56, A. R., A. S. I., 1913-14)

1. Schiefner Tārānāth's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, St. Petersburg, 1869., pp. 72, 147, 11, 252ff., 262 65; also the present author's forthcoming monograph on Studies in the Early History of Buddhism in Burma, Chap. III, Sec. 3.

2. Third Talaing Inscription at the Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome, Ep. Birmanica, I, ii, 153.

3. Mitra, Buddha Gaya: Hermitage of Sakyamuni, I, 78; A. R., A. S. B., 1911, p. 18; J.B.R.S., 1912. "Owing to this and subsequent Burmese missions, the details of the Buddhagaya temple, especially in the basement images, are unmistakably Burmese;" Harvey, History of Burma, p. 46.

4. These romantic accounts are well known in Burma, and are acted on the stage even to this day. Readers may, however, be referred to Hmannan, or the Glass Palace Chronicle pp. 105, 133-34; Phayre, History of Burma, pp. 37, 40; Harvey, History of Burma, pp. 39, 49 and 51; A. R., A. S. B., 1923, p. 32.

raised cones at the centre and corners, a very popular feature of Burmese architecture. Moreover, there are the almost petty, wavy frizzle of the ends of the robe or the heavy and formless pair of feet with their toes arranged in one line or the exaggeratedly stiff and uncompromising poses and attitudes of the body and of its parts, all characteristic of the local school whose craftsmen were used to carving and chiselling primarily in wood.

In some of the examples of even the earlier phase one can also notice a facial type, somewhat of a Mongolian character, with a roundish cut of the face, the mouth framed in a bow-like curve, high cheek-bones, a nose flattened to some extent and half-closed eyes within a cavity that grows roundish with time (Plate XXXVII, Figs. 53, 56, A. R., A. S. I., 1913-14). In others the treatment too has undergone a change; the petrifying tendency has deteriorated into a hard and flat modelling. This increases with time, and develops into the stiffness that characterises all later images. The body also undergoes a transformation; the attenuation of the waist is on its way to decrease. The pose and expression of the face and the body gradually become more and more dull, hard and stiff (Plate XV, Fig. 4). It is, therefore, only natural to assume that the craftsmen entrusted with the execution of these sculptures were local i. e., Burmese, probably co-workers or apprentices.

In some of the examples from the Ānanda itself, the process of Burmanisation is still more noticeable. In them we see a flat, broad, heavy and roundish face with half closed eyes set within a cavity, and a flat, stunted nose, ears with heavy and stiff ear-lobes, a most stiff pose which is all the more accentuated by the stiff attitudes of the hands, legs and feet, and the heavy fingers that are rowed in one line. The body is treated in a hard and flat manner. The petty zig-zag of the ends of the garment, undoubtedly a local transformation, as well as the peculiar mode of dressing the curly locks of hair are new features that are gradually asserting themselves.

An example from amidst the collection of bronzes in the Pagan museum reveals an entirely new facial type, frankly Mongolian in character. It is flat and broad with small shallow eyes, protruding cheek-bones and a vacant expression on the face. The two flanking devotees seated with folded hands are undoubtedly Burmans. This accounts directly or indirectly for the Burmanisation of the Buddha-face as well. The process of Burmanisation is visible also in the form and treatment of the flame designs of the stela which are much more ornate and elaborate. The lotus petals of the seat have become sharper and pointed.

From such examples as these to the seated Buddha of the third terrace of the Thatbinnyu temple (Plate XV, Fig. 5) it is not a long jump. The Thatbinnyu Buddha is but a typical representative of later Burmese sculpture. Its facial type is a lineal descendant of that example we have already referred to (Pl. XV, Fig. 4). It is a round, heavy, flat face with raised cheek-bones, round eyes, flat nose, thick lips, almost parallel, and a dull expression. The flat and hard treatment makes the image lifeless. The attenuation of the waist has considerably decreased. The hands are most stiffly posed, the fingers have become longer but they are heavy and rowed in one line. But the changed attitude becomes more and more marked in the treatment of the end of the garment which is represented as a thick, flat and separate surface lined by rounded ridges and stuck to the chest. It does no longer flow in curves, nor show any frizzled ends.

Other art-traditions in Pagan : The affiliation of the Pagan sculptures and bronzes with those of the "Eastern school" does not preclude the possibility of the existence of other art-traditions in the Burmese capital. In fact there were and they too have left their traces ; but their examples are rare and their influence feeble. An almost life-size image of a standing Śiva (Brahmanical Gods in Burma, Plate XVI) executed in greyish sandstone, is, in fact the only important example of stone sculpture extant that can be attributed to a different art-tradition than what we have referred to above. The image is worked in bold and round relief ; its form and execution are south-Indian and remind one of late Coḷa examples. A standing image of Viṣṇu in bronze, from the field of Myinkaba, may be cited as a second example (Ibid. Plate XII). The image seems to have been cast locally by an indigenous craftsman in the service of an Indian master who had the heritage of a south-Indian art-tradition in the store of his knowledge. The image may, both artistically and iconographically be compared with a similar bronze image of Viṣṇu at present in the Madras Museum.¹

1. Gopinath Rao, Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part 1, Plate XVIII.

KALIṄGA TEMPLES.

By St. KRAMRISCH.

Archetype.

The physiognomy of medieval Indian temples is shown by their exterior, mostly full of sculpture. Walls and sculpture, inasmuch as the latter is the extreme, i.e. the most externalized articulation of the former, are inseparable in medieval Indian temples.¹ The walls are not covered with sculptures; on the contrary, in them they gain visibility specified. In shapes and in meaning the whole of the temple lays itself out. Moreover, the rules that are valid for the cult image also apply to the sculptures on the walls, and reversely: the principles active in sculpture as part of the wall, continue to act in the cult image. Though not part of the wall it steps forth from its own wall, i. e. from the slab of the stela. Kaliṅga temples will be referred to here as a special instance of a more general case (p. 53) and of these the Rekha type² of temple as the most characteristic and widely spread. The approach will neither be stylistic nor conceptual. The stylistic method points its arrows in one direction, it goes along with time, the conceptual takes no notice of time, but sees in symbols the archetype preserved. It recognizes them as far as their identity goes; "universalia ante rem"—and the archetype itself carries a name. The visual approach knows of no names but is aware of a mould which is pre-established, and becomes apparent by its persistency. It sees the archetype in which the form is moulded.

Kaliṅga, the Eastern variety of Nāgara buildings³ covers approximately the country between the Suvarṇarekha river in the North, to Cicacole in the South

1. There are temples, for instance the Uttareśvar and Siddheśvar in Bhuvanēśvar, which have only the images of the Pāśvadevatās. The walls of a number of minor shrines, too, are articulate without sculpture. Financial considerations may account for this.

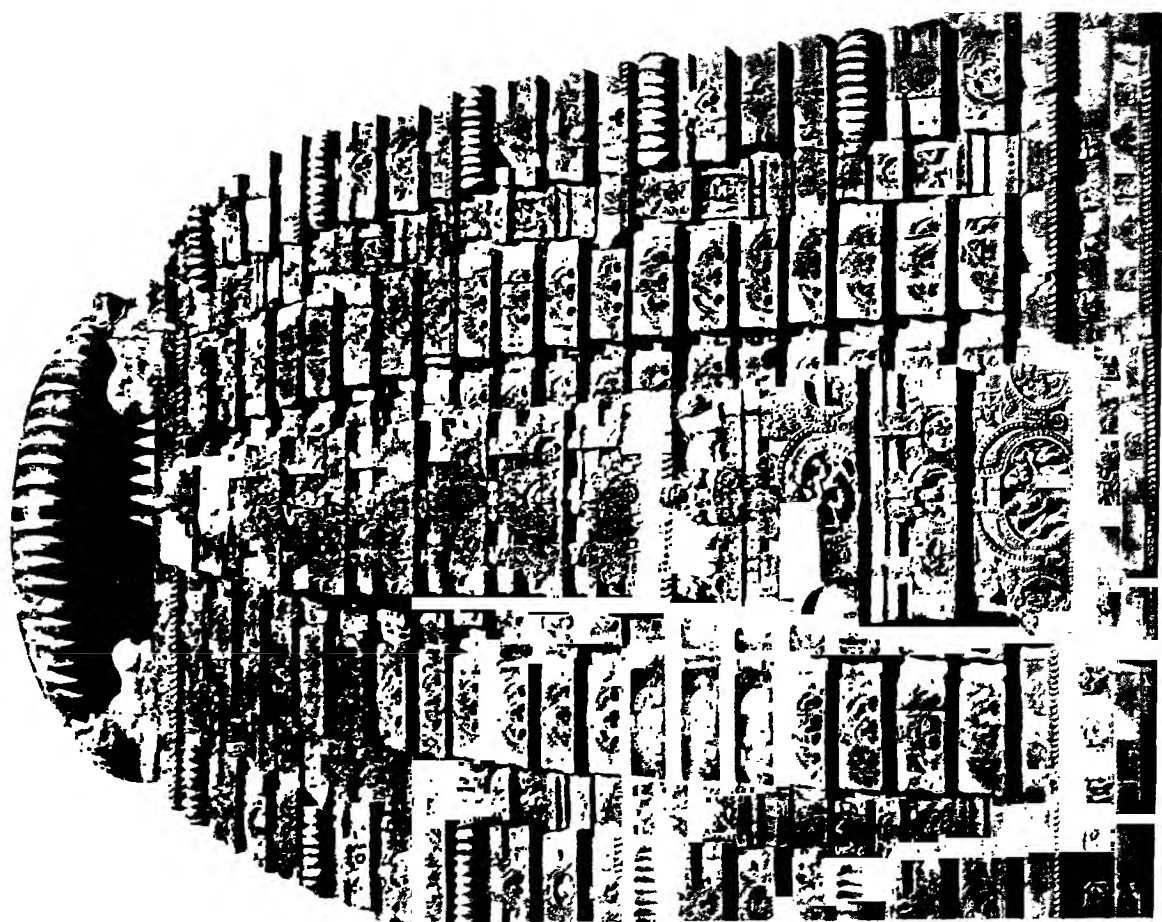
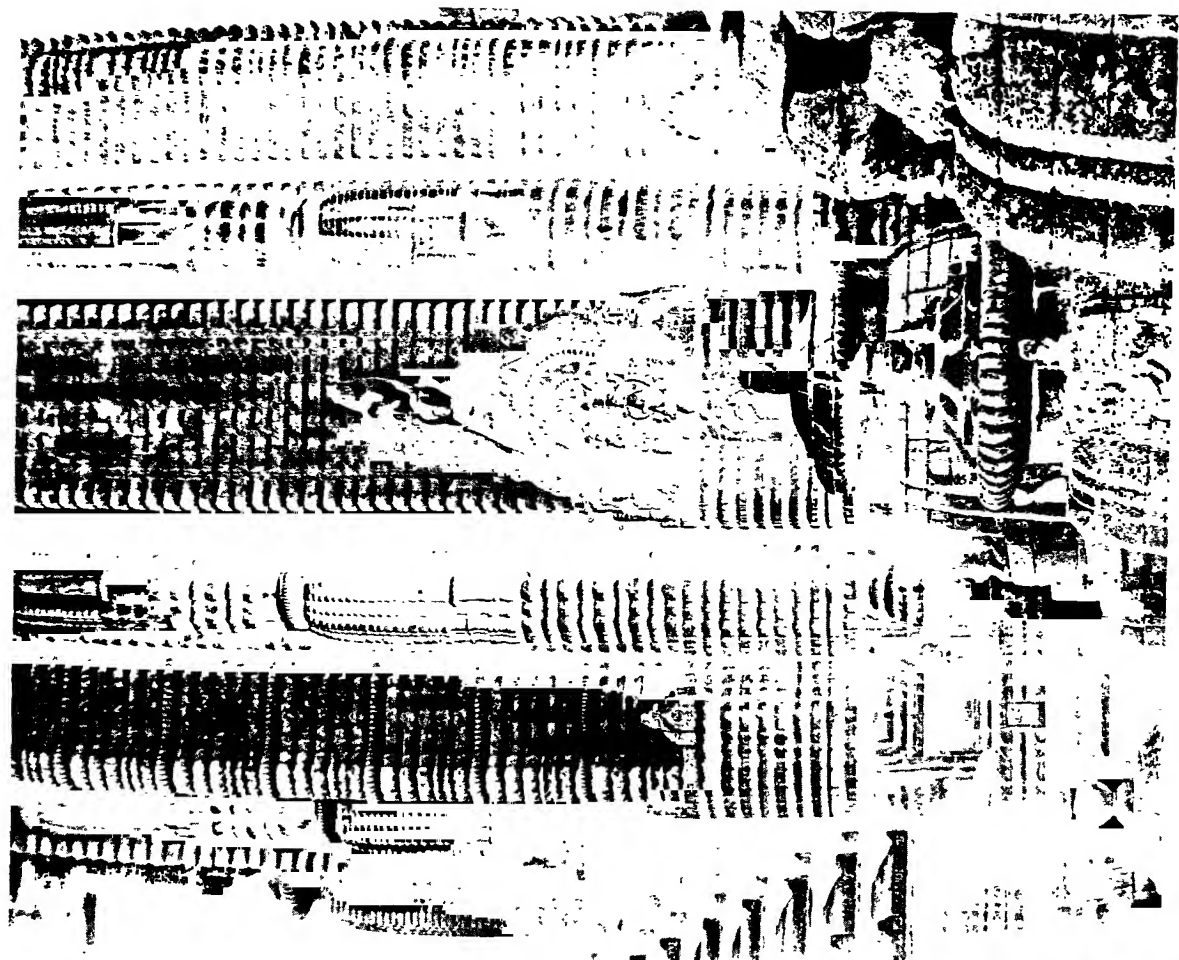
2. i. e., the sanctuary with square base and curvilinear tower.

3. An inscription (A. R., A. S. I., S. circle, Epigraphy, 1915 pp. 49, 90) mentions Kaliṅga as a type of building by itself, next to Nāgara. The monuments do not confirm this.

and extends to the West into the Central Provinces (Raipur District).¹ Bengal too has related temples (Bankura,² Barakar,³) and Bihar (Manbhum⁴, Muṇḍeśvarī temple at Bhabua,⁵ Arrah Distr.,) can show some ruins. The majority of temples are at present in Orissa and Ganjam. These will be considered irrespective of such ancient subdivisions as Utkala, Tosala, Koṅgoda⁶, etc., or Kalinga of the hills⁷ or of the plains. The colossal Buddhist sculptures of the Cuttack hills⁸, the Mātṛ images from Jaipur⁹, the figure sculptures from Mayurbhanj¹⁰ are stylistically varied, ramifications within the given type, yet where walls have sculptures—though sparingly in the Cuttack hills as well as in Mayurbhanj, etc., and mainly round the doorways in the two last instances,—the principle remains the same. Four centuries, from A. D. 800 approximately to the thirteenth century are the chronological limits. Beginnings about A. D. 800 are due to the accident of preservation, the end in the thirteenth century to the Mohammedan inroad¹¹. The beginnings do not mark a starting point. Surface completely carved and modelled distinguishes the gates of Sāñcī. A 'derivation' from post-Gupta Temples (Deogarh or Muṇḍeśvarī Temple at Bhabua) refers more to the apportionment of the walls than to the relation of wall and sculpture.

The exterior¹² of Kalinga Temples shows the archetype with its lack of isolation, its coherence, impact and transcendancy, which has stepped into complete visibility, clothed in the variabilities of actual monuments. Motifs will not be considered here as far as they are defined by names. In this respect they are equivalent to symbols. The mould however can not be recognised merely by a name. Its existence rests in its activity. It holds and shapes the particular form and is prior to it, Prakṛti, equivalent with the pre-matter of Sāṃkhya. It activates articulation, and consolidation in rules.

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1. For inst. Lakṣmana temple, Sirpur, Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. LI.
 2. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Fig. 213.
 3. S. K. Sarasvati, The Begunia group of temples, J. I. S. O. A., Vol. I, p. 124, Pl. XXXVI.
 4. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. II, P. XV.
 5. A. S. I. A. R. 1902-3, p. 42; 1923-24, p. 25; R. D. Banerji, op. cit. Vol. II, Pls. facing pp. 152, 240.
 6. R. D. Banerji, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 4.
 7. cf. The Quarterly Journal, Andhra Historical Research Society, 1926, G. Ramadas, Tri-Kalinga, p. 19.
 8. R. P. Chanda, Exploration in Orissa, A. S. I. Mem. No. 44, Pls. II-VI.
 9. Ibid Pl. I.
 10. Cf. R. P. Chanda, Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanja, Mayurbhanj 1929, Pls. I-III, X-XV, XIX, XXI-XXIV; Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Pl. XLII; A. S. I. A. R., 1922-23, Pl. XLI; XLII; 1924-25, Pl. XXXV.
 11. For a relative chronology of the temples of Bhuvaneśvar, cf. A. S. I. A. R., 1923-24, R. P. Chanda, the Liṅgarāja or great temple of Bhuvaneśvar, pp. 119—122.
 12. Significantly enough the interior of these temples is small, plain and reticent of sculpture, but for the ceilings of the maṇḍapas of Mukteśvar and Brahmeśvar.



Such factors that were instrumental in the particular constellation, such as racial origins, immigrations, etc., will not be considered here. The active source itself within the given constellation, the archetype, the fundamentals, will have to be demonstrated in the one province and through the four centuries.

It is not the question here of 'origin and development' of wall articulation prevalent in Kaliṅga temples, but a purely physiognomical study will be attempted. Nor will the single motif be investigated in its origin, meaning and transformation, but the principle which holds together the multifarious motifs will be searched for.

Variation I. (a) Architecture.

In the group of temples of which the Paraśurāmeśvar¹ (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1, c. A. D. 800) is the largest and most accomplished, facets (pāgas²) project relatively little (they have a small jhalama, i.e. amount of projection) although on different levels. The centre projection, the Madyaratha is the highest, then follow the corner projections (kanyāsa pāga), the next lower level is occupied by the two wings of a broad Pāga, which underlies the Madyaratha, and by an entire Pāga on either side (anuratha). The interval between Anuratha and Kanyāsa is filled at a slightly lower level with a row of superimposed devices. Finally there are vertical rows of plain horizontal courses of various width in-between all the Pāgas. But even then the lowest level is not reached yet. Three narrow and step-like tiers in-between the horizontal courses lead to it.

These are the five levels in depth which alternate in the vertical direction, whereas the sixth, the lowermost level, attains visibility horizontally as a dark recess. As relatively flat surfaces the single Pāgas cohere in the vertical direction stretched as it were from the horizontal moulding below (baraṇḍa) to the square plinth on top (ghāṛa cakarā). Divided into almost straight and small rectangles they adhere closely to the mass of the temple body. It is self-contained and attempts to step beyond its own limits there only, where this is safest, i.e., in the middle of each of its bent four sides and not at its corners. Seemingly flat surfaces on parallel levels are outlined by shadows that cling to their sides and have settled in the interstices. They are cut across horizontally by deep shadow lines which are contained within the stepped recesses in-between the recurrent motifs. These lines of darkness annihilate almost the three dimensional gradation, so that each of the four sides

1. Codrington, *Ancient India*, Pl. 56.

2. Re. terminology of temple architecture, Cf. N. K. Bose, *Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta 1932, p. 178 and *passim*.

of the spire (ganḍi) seems to consist of single rectangles, each stamped with its motif. They appear in series, one next to the other, without any stress, calculatedly, regularly. Each of the four surfaces of the sanctuary moreover meets the next in a corresponding manner. It preserves neatness of definition. The Ganḍi is unmistakably four sided and the four Kanyāsa Pāgas seem even to enhance this for they adhere like tight clasps to the squat volume.

The clear cut four-sidedness well agrees with the clear cut units into which each side is parcelled out. Each such unit is stamped with its own device and the split Gavākṣa¹ window item of the Anuratha Pāgas is not less articulate than the framed niche and Gavākṣa device on the next lower level. It is but in the upper part of the Madhyaratha that the split-off wings of the Gavākṣa device send out their finial as a tentacle to catch up with the next higher motif so as to affect a continuity.

Each such small plot is well defined and so is the motif that graces it. The Gavākṣa devices all along their outlines are beaded with chains that hold them like close set rows of pin heads.

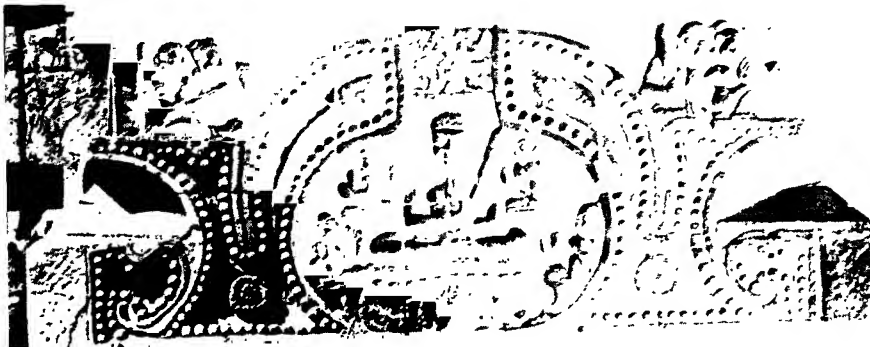
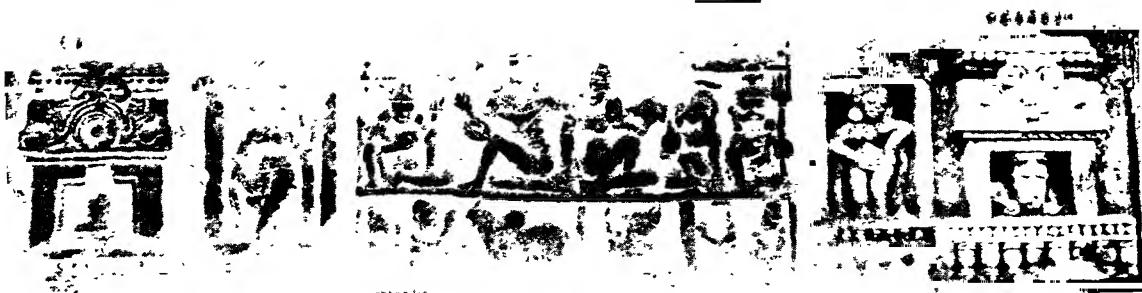
A tight volume, gravid to the brim, masters its own fullness with a well-marked measure. Discipline and cohesion of neatly defined units, flat in the main and outlined by dark shadows, within a self-contained volume, distinguish this phase of wall-articulation.

Variation I. (b) Sculpture.

Such figure sculpture as there is part of the wall, is of small dimension, fitted into a frame-work of 'architectonic' derivation (Pl. XVII, Figs. 1, 3, 4) or else itself so displayed that it makes up a square or rectangle of its own, within its self-contained limits (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2 and also Fig. 3). Even where the configuration is comprehensive as on the door lintel of the Lakṣmanēśvar shrine (Pl. XVII, Fig. 1), one of the small ruined shrines opposite Rāmeśvar temple, which shows Śiva and Pārvatī in Kailāsa, the whole amounts to a display of figurines boxed into compartments, mapped out by limits thin like matches, some of architectonic suggestiveness, or of none besides being limits or may be, they are limbs at the same time too.

Devices adhere to the surface, and the figures spread out into surfaces which they create themselves within the level prescribed by their surroundings. The modelling which makes this possible has a tough fluidity which sustains the

1. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian Architecture III*, *Eastern Art*, 1931, p. 205.



outline and dilates it with tenseness (Pl. XVII, Fig. 3). Of a leaden heaviness it fills a form spread and splayed into the surface, entire and defined, as every one of the Pāgas is in itself, and equally dependent upon, or responsive to, the elements next to it and to the whole which lays itself out simultaneously in every part.

That such figures must have squat and heavy-featured faces is conditioned by the form physiognomy of the entire structure, and there are two alternatives of appearance: a blunt and tough fullness (Pl. XVII, Fig. 4) turgid with sap and vacant of anything else, while the other has not the bead-like tautness but relaxedly shows large features with little detail and much fated pathos, carved or modelled, and sustained by an orthogonal linear discipline (Pls XVII, Fig. 3 and XVIII, Fig. 2) which also belongs to the gridiron appearance of the sides of the Rekha or of their seemingly pile-work-like structure (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1).

To this phase, to the latter aspect and to its most fluid possibility have to be assigned the Pārśvadevatā figures of the Uttareśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar (Kāma with Ratī and Tīṣṇā, (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1). The relief is potent with a modelling which wells forth broadly, and with a clinging softness into jewellery and apparel. (Two of the faces have been worked over, fairly recently it seems.) The extremely large and vapid hands of these figures, along with the feet bent in the ankle joint and somewhat severed from the rest of the body and the vertical surface into which it is laid, act as points of fixation vertically or else between the various levels of the relief. The fluency of treatment of this relief has its iconographical embodiment in the Makara-standard behind the Mukuṭa of Kāma.

A self-contained volume carries meticulous order (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1). It is replete with devices. Bounded by its own extension, the unit comes into existence while it is part of the entire scheme. There is in fact, no single, isolated unit; partitioning is the method resorted to in order to master the whole. It is not a process of building up a whole, but of making its wholeness apparent, rectangle by rectangle, each impressed with a device, each bearing its infinitely re-stated unit of a meaning. The whole surface and the mass along with it are parcelled out.

Archetype, and Variation I.

Centrifugal fullness is disciplined. This refers to the manner by which it is compressed within the batter of the sides. Volume emerges appreciably in the middle of each side only, which makes this stepping forth well sheltered and recumbent upon a broadly expanded support; correspondingly also all differentiated form closely

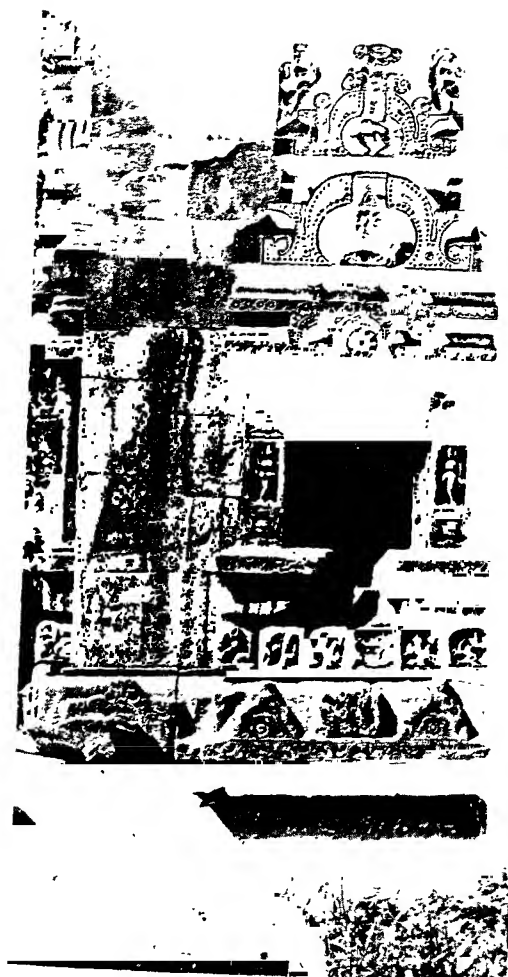
adheres to the surface that carries it, itself sent forth with measured care. As if bound up within the whole from where it comes forth so far and no further, the surface full of device is but the living cortex, given a pattern and a meaning, of a total volume of which the external shape may vary in the established types.¹

Cohesion is brought about by the upward urge. The entire structure is seen to grow upwards as it were; the Madhyaratha like a sling binds the entire Gandī, and all the other Pāgas with their inward batter (rekha) tend towards the same point. Cohesion in the vertical direction runs in symmetrical courses along the curved surface of the wall. It is of the nature of fibres and is made visible as surface articulation, different from the impetus which sets forth as it were, each unit of a Pāga and each Pāga as a unit, up to a definite level which is allocated to it. The upward urge has an unappeased curve towards a central point; all Gandīs are truncated and drawn in towards the neck (mastaka). Their shape which is made finite with flat Āmalakya, Khapuri and Kalasa finial, is yet unachieved and overshoots its own actual extension by its inherent urge. The inward batter of the upper portion of the Gandī in this type of temples comes with an unexpected suddenness, and by this very gesture which is wilful makes apparent that the upward urge has not come to an end.

Whereas the upward urge—which is part of the potency of the mass—is active in one direction and can be likened to such mythological imagery as that of the “fathoming of the liṅgam”, the outward impetus which works from within the entire mass, starts centrifugally at all the points of its vertical axis, in every direction within each specific horizontal plane. The impetus creates mass which is its substance. The upward urge seizes it, becomes saturated with it and keeps it in shape. Both are dynamic, the one produces matter, the other has growth, and the meeting of the two yields their twofold impress. In the class of temples of the Paraśurāmeśvar type which is the earliest preserved in Orissa, it is marked with an almost abstract precision. But the orthogonal system of intersection does not coincide with the extension of the single building stones (Pls. XVI, Fig. 1; XVII, Figs. 3, 4).² These are frequently joined anywhere within the rectangular units. This orthogonal system is also applied with reference to the single figure, or groups of figures and their extension (Pl. XVII, Figs. 1-3). The rational devising had no long duration in Kaliṅga. The persisting aspect is the

1. i. e., as Rekha, Khākara and Bhadra. In the sub-variety of Khākara as shown by the Kapālīnī Devī (Vaitāl Deul), and the Bhadra type, the vertical and the horizontal are made to intersect more mechanically than organically.

2. It is not technically conditioned.



visualisation itself of the mass-creative impetus in the broadly welling forth figure sculpture (Pls. XIX, Fig. 1 ; XVII, Fig. 3)¹. The latter, which is the root attitude is maintained throughout Kalinga temple architecture and sculpture.

The possibilities of transformation adopted by the exterior of these temples in succeeding phases will be now shown. The theme itself is pre-established and each monument makes it manifest as one more variation. It will be seen to what extent and in what direction time acts its part and how far the various constellations are aspects of the root attitude and forecast by it.

Variation II.

On the straight part of the wall (bāra) between pedestal and spire of the Vaitāl Deul² in Bhuvaneśvar for instance and even more so on that of the Someśvar temple (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) at Mukhaliṅgam³ (Ganjam, c. A. D. 900) the contracted and unified niche motifs, with the balanced order of their large and graded surfaces advance, each a sum total and not the result of juxtaposition as on the Paraśurāmeśvar (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1). The wide rectangles have room for figure panels and scroll (ḍāli) facets. As one broad frame work, top and sides are joined and laid around the niche. Comprehensively graded surfaces link up in depth the frame with the images. The single surfaces may appear thinned with their rhythmically alternating patterns—scroll panels as a whole, against the figure panels as a whole—of light and darkness on one level ; they are connected by mellowed transitions between the planes.

To set off each of these large units of niches consistent within themselves by subtle gradation,⁴ deep and broad gaps replete with darkest shadow intervene. The mass, while stepping forth, hugs to itself its sculpture and keeps it fastened to, and embedded within itself.

The figures (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) now are altogether set into compartments which they no longer need make up for themselves with their own limbs and the manner in which these are placed. They are relatively less tense and more alert in outline. Even when shown standing one knows that their pace has quickened. Their

1. Pl. XVII, Fig. 3 shows in equal shares, rational devising and mass-creative impetus.

2. Codrington, *Ancient India*, pl. 61.

3. For the historical position assigned to the temples of Mukhaliṅgam, see *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, 1931—32, p. 62 ; 1932—33, p. 237, R. Subba Rao, *The History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga*. The late inscriptions quoted there do not contain indications concerning the erection of the Someśvar temple. Stylistically the Someśvar is prior to the Mukteśvar, Bhuvaneśvar. Cf. *ibid.* 1931—1932, Plates facing pp. 60, 78, 79, 209 ; and 1932—33, Plates facing pp. 130—132.

4. In the niche of the Paraśurāmeśvar (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) the contrasts are less, and clearer marked. This refers to profilation, height of relief and to the relation of light and shade conditioned by them.

outline has a sinuous course and appears loosened. The same is true about 'foliage' and scroll devices. Self-contained or crisply curling back upon itself, each device consisted of single parts separated from the other as much by the principle of rectangularity as by a contrast of light and darkness (Pl. XVII, Fig. 2). Such crinkly and hooked sparseness however is not fastened into relief on the Someśvar and other temples, where the flux of the motif meanders in sinuous creepers and is shed into the entire panel whose surface heaves with scrolls like a rich field brushed this way and that way by indefatigable whirls of growth (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5). Such a welling forth at a quickened speed yet tenaciously adheres to the surface while it is at rest within its broad expanse.

If the juxtaposition of the Paraśurāmeśvar type as far as the Bāṇa-portion goes, had been commuted into coalescence in the Someśvar, this has become more thorough and comprehensive in that group of temples, of which the Mukteśvar¹ (middle tenth century) is the paradigm (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1).

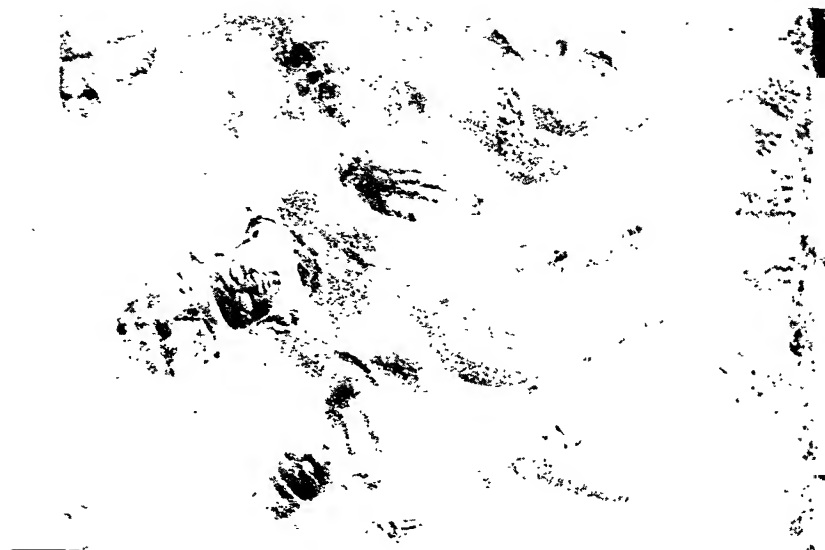
Variation II. The Problem of Time.

As we pass through the centuries from building to building, the question obviates itself how time becomes apparent, how it can be imagined exteriorized from within the potent mass and linked with the upward urge : It operates along a direction that lies within the archetype.

The upward urge incessantly outgrows what it builds up. Its temporary fulfilment is pushed from the one monument to the next. The outward impetus in its turn acts in increasing specification, in ever more heated intensity radiated outward, towards fusion and comprehension of the small in the intricacy of the large. Time is no category outside the monument ; it is part of the urge and potency of its mass.

Of the Mukteśvar temple the Pāgas of Bāṇa and Gaṇḍī are one (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1) and the necking (kāñṭī) in-between the two serves as an accent only and so does the large and projected Gavākṣa on the Madhyaratha. The Pāgas of the Rekha and Bhadrā walls seem covered with a veil of split Gavākṣa devices. It undoes the partitioning horizontalism of the single mouldings and uses their shadow-grooves as bilateral foil for its own pattern. Contraction and unification make the Kanyāsa Pāgas appear like ascending rods with knots, the Amlās are out of proportion and mark less the single stories (bhūmis) than they suggests the nodules of a bent bamboo . To achieve this, only the Amlās had to gain in volume and this is done by two

1. Codrington, op, cit. Pl. 57 ; Kramrisch, Grundzüge der indischen Kunst, Pl. 22.



recesses interpolated at the corners so that the four sides of the Gandi are no longer sharply separated as distinct surfaces, but they merge the one into the other in one heavily rounded volume (see note on previous page).

What is true about the corners, holds good for the entire building. All its Pāgas have increased in the third dimension ; vigorously the temple body steps forth in all directions, mellowed in detail and bold in major contrast. The interpolation of one new device is significant. The narrow and vertical recess or the fourth lowest level (p. 45) with its rectangular niche motifs filled with figure, now also emboldened in the third dimension, hangs out its niches like a series of lanterns (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1). This demands an indication of support and it is given by round pilasters with a Nāga or Nāgī coiled around the shaft, supported by two lion devices, while the lower part of the pilaster, freely and in inverted order repeats the portion on top.

Several factors are embodied in this rounded pilaster ; the unifying tendency in the vertical direction which is also conspicuous in pendentives¹ vertically thrown across moulding of the base (pābhāga), the stepping forth of the mass into roundness as a high degree of volume, and a saturated ease in taking this step, so that the round pilaster is entwined by figure sculpture², an indissoluble whole, where obviously the 'architectonic' and the 'sculptural' are but differentiations of the impetus towards organised volume and meaning.

What is active vertically is also valid horizontally. Projections with relatively flat surfaces (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) prevail in the early type and hide their bent part of the surface in the darkness of the horizontal recesses above and below. They form boldly outlined units. The Pābhāga (foot) of the Someśvar (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) on the other hand flows out at the base, while it yet appears solidly upheld, by a vertical continuity of convex and concave surfaces welded together in deep grooves. The cascade, if seen from above, the chalice, if seen from below, of the Pābhāga mouldings of the Rāja Rānī (twelfth century) show a subsequent unfoldment and concentration (Pl. XXII, Fig. 2) to that of the Mukteśvar (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1).

The sending forth of volume and ultimately of figure, this utterly visualised dynamism of the archetype has a thoroughly consistent discipline. Rectangular pilasters step out—further than before, above a level of plain profiles with a

1. These had put in a shy appearance for inst. in the Someśvar temple (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) and are well marked on the Lakṣmīnara temple, Sirour, l. c.

2. See also the temples of Gandharadi near Baudh, R. D. Banerji, *Antiquities of Baudh State*, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XV. p. 64.

scroll field, (*vanalatā*), in which no rambling creeper marks stages or limits (Pl. XXII, Fig. 1, *Bāṛa*, left edge). Deeply cut scroll-curly stir the whole field into one teeming agitation, mastered by bead chains on a higher level, so that it will not overflow but keeps its restlessness as the setting against which the full and human-limbed figure is made to recline on its highly projected pedestal.

The increased corporeality of the *Pāgas* is communicated to the figure sculpture ; this not only results in a higher, but in a peculiar type of relief where the figures unsheltered by any frame appear in front of the carved ground. They do it with a kind of super-volume, out of which they grow while at the same time they leave it behind themselves, as less articulate endeavour, of the mass which ties their detailed exuberance to the entire body and actually visualises, if seen from the side, the coming forth, a stage of becoming form, as a part of the entire visibility of the monument (Pl. XXII). This fact has to be seen together with the completed execution in the front view and with the minutest care, oftentimes the fullest artistic realisation, of reliefs hidden in recesses or so high up that they are scarcely visible, in order to understand that the craftsman, while carving the monument and modelling it in situ, identified himself with it, did justice to its demands as a living body and did not look upon it as an outsider who judges effects. That means, any surface parallel with the temple wall offers itself ripened into complete visibility, i. e. finality, in every detail, whereas any surface at a right angle to the main extension of the temple wall, leading as it does from one accomplished stage to the next, must be midway between the two, or in relation to the whole, on its way. It amounts to the impulse to become form made visible. To these vertical surfaces placed at angles to the 'facade', dynamic value has to be assigned ; they show the process itself of becoming form, entered into form ; their validity is of relative value if seen by themselves, yet of essential value in view of the whole monument.

The upward urge, productive of rhythmical coherence essentially contains time. Inherently in its upwards tension, explicitly if viewed at various instances when it is actually seen growing from temple to temple.—The *Rekha* considerably increases in height in proportion to the base, as "time goes on."—It shoots across and thereby gives definition to the potency of the mass which keeps on setting forth mass eager of shape, laying itself out in simultaneous presence.

In view of this, time and space do not seem to be the categories according to which these monuments exist. The outward impetus produces volume ; the upward urge which is but one other direction within potent mass, is the carrier



of time, the ubiquitous potency of the mass is in need of a correlate that will not be exhausted by it. Volume has space for its correlate. The correlate in this case can not be space, which though boundless, is static, i. e. finite. Potent mass has its correlate in the infinite. Potent mass—in which time is integrated—and the infinite, and not space and time are the categories in which rest physiognomy and constellation of the whole type and of each of its representatives.

Coherence.

Another relation i.e. that of monumental mass and sculpture,—after once for all having made sure that sculpture is but its highest and most differentiated exponent,—is one of coherence. This has two modes, i. e. of carving and modelling.¹ The Gavākṣa device and the scroll (*vanalatā*) which are used most extensively, along with less universal devices such as the chess-board pattern etc., are carved on the whole, whereas the figure sculptures are modelled. The carved treatment of the Gavākṣa-pattern consists in parallel and vertical surfaces cut into the stone like shallow steps which gradually carry light into darkness and lead from the surface of the stone into its depth (Pls. XVI, Fig. 1; XXII, Fig. 1). In the treatment of the scroll work also, coherence between ground and upper surface, and their approach by gradation are there. In this case, light is not carried by shallow steps, but glides along obliquely cut surfaces (Pls. XVII, Figs. 2, 5; XXI; XXII, Fig. 2). One resting on the next, and the last on the ground, or else they curl up spirally and in this manner their counter-play effects further transitions of light and darkness. Still, with an increasing tendency to become tangible, the carved and major part of the scroll work becomes more and more modelled. The scrolls curl up in lumps instead of plaques (Pls. XVII, Fig. 2;—XXI; XXII, Fig. 2).

The building as a whole, of flatly graded and clear cut surfaces at first, tends to become modelled in vast and melting roundnesses, as 'time goes on' (Pl. XVI). But figure sculpture from the outset was modelled, barring such exceptions—(Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2) which, exceptions though they are, could only have occurred at the early phase—where the comparatively flat relief is cut in surfaces at angles with the ground, while the latter is raised in angles towards its modelled (!) rim.

Modelling is given preference to carving, from the tenth century onward. This refers to the general conception. The stepping forth of Pāga above Pāga is

1. These terms used here indicate differences in degree, of stone treatment and do not imply the respective original techniques. Under carving we understand a treatment where the gradation of the surface of the relief in the third dimension mainly consists in part surfaces which meet in angles, whereas modelling has no such distinct part-surfaces in the third dimension but links them up by transitions so that edges do not exist. The effect of the one treatment is clean-cut and sharp, that of the other rounded and soft.

a feature of the Madhyaratha on each side of the Paraśurāmeśvar. The principle is enlarged upon later inasmuch as every one of the main Pāgas and not only the Madhyaratha is superseded by one more application and this is done differently according to the situation of the Pāga : the Anuratha Pāga shoots up with half Śikharas (miniature Rekha-shapes) diminishing in size in vertical succession (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2 ; portion of Rekha of Liṅgarāja ; c. A. D. 1000) whereas the Kanyāsa Pāgas have their corners thickened and disguised by mouldings many times projecting and receding, beset as it were through their entire length by a thick ruff, as part of the body, fastened with Amlā-ribs extended across the next Pāga, to the bulk of the Gandī (Cf. Figs. 2 and 1, Pl. XVI). Each Pāga now is steeped in its own volume, borne by the impetus of the entire monument which has swelled into its maximum, like a ripe fruit. The Gavākṣa net is still cast, but only along the Madhyaratha and is almost imperceptible (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Sculpture is concentrated on the Bāṛa portion, all the corners, the whole 'architecture' itself having become plastic volume, there is neither scope nor need for figure higher up.

While in the earlier temples the impetus of the mass is vitally present in the simultaneous juxtaposition of articulate surfaces, in the many temples of this later phase, it is seen tingling in every part of its visibility with the sap that has made it swell, while at the same time the narrow mouldings airily cohere vertically and horizontally across the Pāgas, irrespective of varied profiles. With it all the Pāgas with their widely projected masses seem to grind the Rekha into turgid roundness, albeit above a rectangular plan while each Pāga presses heavily and serpent-like towards its highest destination.

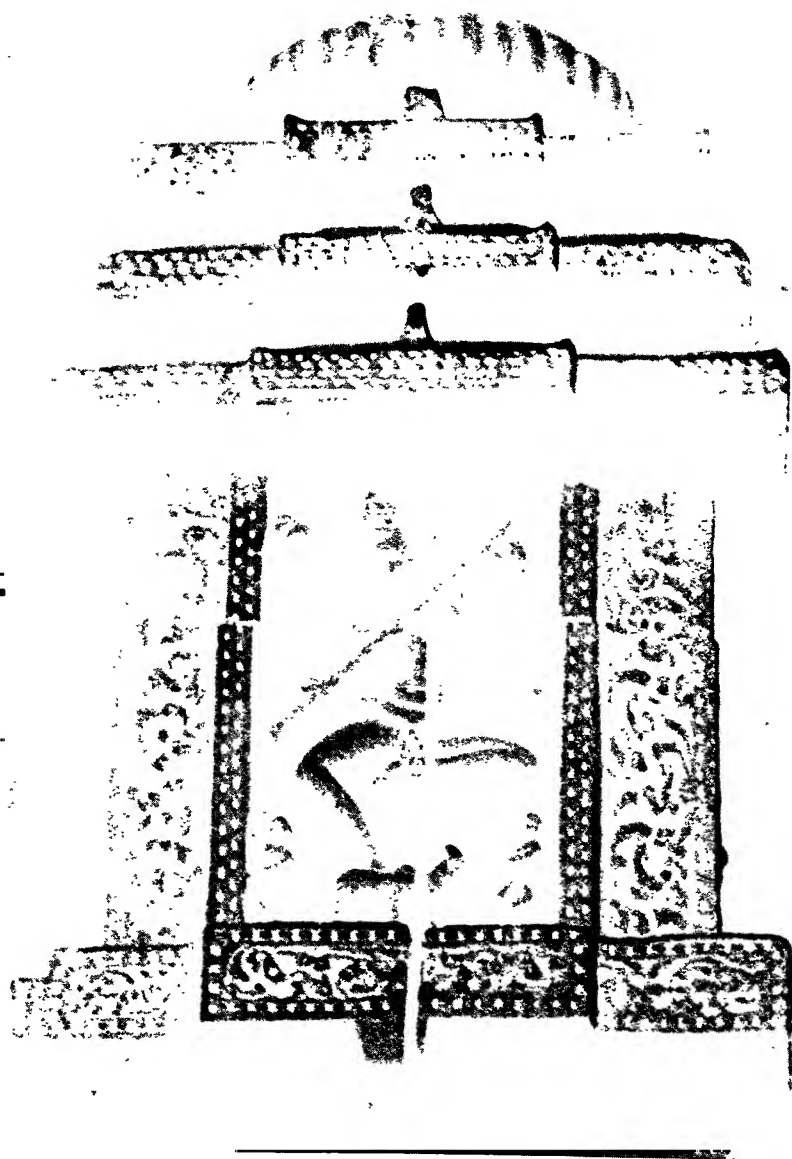
When in the exceptional Rāja Rānī temple (early twelfth century),¹ miniature Śikharas are placed in front even of the middle Pāgas of each side, the Rekha is bereft of the Kaljñga coinage of its upward urge. A conical monument results with just a tendency to overshoot its point. In connection with the Rāja Rānī an excursion to Central Indian temples will bring home this other possibility within Northern Indian building tradition and the manner in which they are contained in the same arche-mould.

Comparison with Nāgara Type of Central India.

Of the Central Indian temples² of the tenth and eleventh centuries (Lakṣmanji, 954 A.D. ; Viśvanātha, 1002 A.D.) the curvilinear Śikhara sallies forth with quickened

1. Indian Antiquary, vol. XVIII, p. 169 ; Codrington, op. cit. Pl. 59.

2. Illustrations : Codrington, ibid. Pls. 70-72 ; Coomaraswamy, History, op. cit. Pl. LXIV.



speed, and right into a point. Its upwards urge is neither caught, nor does it intermingle with the outward impetus of the mass. The latter on the other hand is hypostasized into adjacent and minor half Śikharas and other independent shapes affixed to the main Śikhara. These afford a broad spread towards the base. Upward urge and outward impetus are not integrated in every part of the Central Indian temple but they have equal shares in the whole. The deep vertical recesses on the other hand, in the Bāṛa portion of these temples lead up the eye to the curvilinear ascent of the Gaṇḍī. Here too the various components share in the make-up of the temple, are not integrated in every instance and fall asunder into flatly incised ornamentation on the straight wall, or plain mouldings, or else figures sculpture in the highest possible relief against a flat ground, the one next to the other. Never does the flat wall step forth with a higher tier of ornamented surface so that this in its turn serves as a ground for figure sculpture which has further advanced into space on a richly moulded and ornamented console. As there is no integration of wall and figure, the latter does not fulfil its function of being the highest specification of the mass : An all-round movement is as little visualized as a rounding of the single Pāgas into turgid tubes. Round pilasters with serpents coiling around them are unimaginable in this variety of Āryavarta temples. Their Śikharas moreover are entirely spun over with interlaced Gavākṣa patterns and are accentuated only at the corners by intervening Amlā courses. The result is that in Kālīṅga the monument has balance in every part, whereas in Central India, at the corresponding phase, the upward urge is more potent than the outward impetus. The latter is somewhat inertly present in the mass which adheres to the ground. As a whole and viewed along with the Kālīṅga type, the mass has less impetus, is more passive and unawakened while the upward urge vividly follows its course. So it comes about that horizontal mouldings run across the body of Garbha-grha and Maṇḍapa and bind the mass of the two in wide extensiveness, whereas the Śikhara entirely whipped by the upward urge,—apart from the Amlā clasps at the corners—has left behind horizontal definition. But in Kālīṅga the two cohere and the more explicit the form, that is the later date, the more minutely it is organised in every fraction.

Figure, the Highest Exponent of the Temple-body.

This refers to figure sculpture as well. From the tough breadth of the earliest types (Pl. XVII, Figs. 3, 4 ; XIX, Fig. I), increasing differentiation leads to a modelling yielding in its round fullness (Pl. XXII, Fig. I). The full bodied roundedness of these figures and of others dimpled in their chubbiness, at that stage has an oscillating outline. As far as images are concerned at

this stage, śāstric prescriptions and dark chlorite-stone make them sleek (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2). Differentiation of plastic details and minutiae of jewellery and apparel by which the flow of the earlier sculpture has not been held up, hem in a display of correctness. Still, in the figure of the peacock, the potency of the mass to some extent comes into its own.¹ But whether image or not, the faces of betel-leaf shape and more articulate modelling show in their turn a more detailed, as well as humanized physiognomy.²

While it is obvious that the broad spread of the sculpture of the Paraśurāmeśvar type is carried over into more precise articulation and an outline, less tense and comprehensive, but more loosened and oscillating in the subsequent monuments, for instance Kapālinī Devī,³ Bhuvaneśvar, and Someśvar, Mukhaliṅgam (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5, XVIII, Fig. 3), this tendency proceeds further and across the Mukteśvar to the Rāmeśvar, Citragupteśvar and allied temples. Within this passing from stage to stage of one notion of form, the interest may be concentrated on modelling yielding to the touch (Mukteśvar, Rāja Rānī, Pl. XXII) or else on a treatment, less preoccupied with intimacies of modelling than with a keener outline and its freshly vitalized curves (Rāmeśvar⁴, Citragupteśvar, eleventh century, Pl. XIX, Fig. 3.). Nearer specification works in the figures of human shape towards increasing consciousness. Formerly (p. 47) theirs was the face of Prakṛti, now they show that they know it active within themselves.

Another trait, not altogether peculiarly Orissan⁵ but dwelled upon in this province persistently throughout its phases, and more conspicuous even in the latter phases (from the tenth century) has to be pointed out. This is the way in which some of the figures stand, or bend their arms (Pl. XVII, Figs. 1, 3, 5). Knee or elbow, in these cases are not only stretched, but even help to bend arm

1. The Kāma group (Pl. XIX, Fig. 1) seen against the Karttikeya image, (Pl. XIX, Fig. 2) is melting and abundant; chains, ribbons etc, appear to breathe with the body. But the family likeness is even more obvious.

All the time the attitude towards the material remains the same. The temples are mostly built of laterite of all hues. Some of them were, and still are stained red. From the tenth century images, and stelae of the Pāśvadevatās etc. are made of a greenish black sort of chlorite stone. This material facilitates preciser cognisability of śāstric attributes and increasingly accumulating and explicit detail.

2. The facial physiognomy, an application of the general formative physiognomy, is accordingly shown either as yieldingly tasting that abandon which the body communicates, or else with a sharper turn and cut it outlines the zest of life which activates it (Pl. XIX, Figs. 2, 3).

3. Coomaraswamy, op. cit., Fig. 211; Codrington, op. cit., Pls. 60, 61.

4. Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Fig. 100.

5. Orissa is used here instead of the wider term Kālīṅga; architectonic principles are valid over a wider area, whereas sculpture shows a furthergoing differentiation in the various centres, cf. p. 44.



or leg away from the body (Pl. XVII, Fig. 3). The foot is preferably turned inward. This extreme application of pliability of limbs has certain affinities with the pole-like legs with knees stiffly stretched in which Western Indian sculpture abounds and from which classical as well as later on that of the South and East, (excluding Orissa) are free.¹ Concerned as we are at present, with a purely physiognomical study, it is not the place to enquire into the circumstances that might have brought about these peculiar attitudes. Although within the range of postures possible to the extreme pliability of Indian joints, they become the favourite attitudes of Vṛkṣakās or Maithuna groups (Pls. XVII, Fig. 5 ; XXII, Fig. 2). Unspecified at first and signs only of a great bodily tension, they are preferably given to figures embodying erotic tension, and in this acute experience Orissan sculpture reveals its truest mien.

Still, although present from the outset, this strained, and at the end overwrought distension, is on the increase from the tenth century onward. With it the limbs may, or may not preserve plastic weight or modulation, for the prevalent tendency of this type of sculptures is to emphasize the tension, and to leave away as far as possible, mass as well as the widely ambient curvatures of outline, on which Orissan sculpture likes to dilate, where it is not seized by a more acute tension.

The latter achieves complete form (Pl. XX) by the eleventh century and it is of interest to witness here as well as in any other phase of Indian sculpture that there is no one trend of evolution but a simultaneous, integral or collateral, coming into form of diverse tendencies. As in a well twisted thread, the single parts—or trends—and their particles, apart from having no separate existence, show even of their intertwined state not the whole, but just that part which lies open to the eye and permits to judge how strongly they cohere.

Altogether in the eleventh century there is much refinement in Indian sculpture, a fondness of slender figures is joined by great delicacy of treatment. In this most elegant phase, whatever be the archetype plastically, not to speak of the subject-matter (see the Naṭarāja Pl. XXI), it is displayed with a slender ease. This factor, a symptom of a certain maturity, combined with the erotic tension so strongly apparent in Orissa, and with a linear treatment hitherto unknown in this province, leads to presentations as that of the Maithuna couple (Pl. XX), synchronous with Pl. XXI, (the latter on the wall of a temple with most variegated reliefs,²—some of them akin to Pl. XXII, Fig. 2—). Modelling has dwindled

1. Kramrisch, op. cit. pp. 106, 107.

2. *ibid.* Figs. 101, 102.

away in such figures (Pl. XX) and receded into a thin surface which is all reserve in faint suggestions and keen in its generalisations. The exuberance of the mass appears as if evaporating and while the most abstemious use is made of modelling, the little there is of body and abstracted volume is of highest nervous sensibility. It is this only that matters in touch and angle, by which such Maithuna figures are joined and worse than joined, held aloof in a fated union. Whilst they suffer it they savour it and their slow approach is but the tension between two strokes of lightening. Sharp profiles on either side, along which they glide into desire.

Such high achievement flows into other channels in the last constellation of Orissan sculpture. Sharp lines and angularity persist oftentimes in conjunction with a tight toughness (p. 47) of plastic mass. (The majority of Koṇāraka sculptures, thirteenth century). In one of its earlier aspects the latter component had clung to the walls of the Paraśurāmeśvar type of temples (Pl. XVII, Fig. 4.). Then its mass was encased within the temple-body, now it has almost become free of it and achieved fullness. Into it may now be sunk the ambient oscillation of outline and subtle surface modelling¹, or it may be shot across and tightened by erotic intensity into heavy ardour towards an ultimate stage of knowing mastery². It may in less achieved, but still integral formulations, lay its heavy volume with assurance into types widely current and frequently practised in this school; it is then obvious to see in this last phase of monumental sculpture in Orissa, the perennial existence of a classically Indian quality. The earnest spontaneity of form and feeling remains the same, whatever the motif, Kicaka (Koṇāraka), mother and child (Jagannātha, Puri), or horseman overriding demons (Koṇāraka) (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 1-3). At this stage too, (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and in the fullness of means, an unsurpassable naturalism, —one is tempted to say, of the "bambino" (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2.) so closely does this infant suggest those of the Renaissance—is encased by arms, numb in modelling. Incidentally it may be remarked that this mother would never do as a Madonna. Their natural tie holds together mother and child and while absorbed and aggrandised by it, the mother takes account of and controls the situation, as the lovers do in their case (Pl. XX).

At this stage too, light and darkness no longer are meted out as counterparts of measured volume (Ps. XVII, XXI) but the monument draws space into itself and makes it corporeal for it looms dark where the relief is sunk in frame

1. Springer. Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte, vol. VI; Kramrisch, Die indische Kunst, Fig. 321, p. 328.

2. In some Maithuna couples.



or recess (Pl. XXIII, Figs. 2, 3). In return it gives out volume into unbounded vastness (Pl. XXIV), with figures as ultimate and furthestmost heralds of a boundless power to grow into definite shape. Potent mass has put forth, and upwards urge keeps stalwart, those gigantic figures of the roof of the Maṇḍapa of Koṇāraka, away from the walls of the building and yet one with them.

Summary.

A survey of Kaliṅga temples which keeps in view their essence, finds that dynamic mass while laying itself out simultaneously, is shot across by the upward urge. In this archetype with its coherence, impact and transcendence are contained the indissoluble connection of architecture and sculpture, the latter being the most specified aspect of the former as well as the 'evolution' of this type, with its jointly increasing differentiation of details and their commutation and contraction in growing comprehensiveness. The upward urge seems active within the form of each monument, and through their sequence in time. Seen in this way, time germinates in the archetype. The above refers to Kaliṅga temples if interpreted from within ; seen from the outside they offer a physiognomy in which temple-body, ornamentation and figures are formed from case to case, in accordance. They are not exchangeable within, but are consistently and gradually brought forth by the archetype.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Pl. XVI.

- Fig. 1. Gaṇḍi (spire) of Paraśurāmeśvar temple, S. side, Bhuvaneśvar, c. A. D. 800.
 Fig. 2. Part of Bāra (wall of sanctuary) and Gaṇḍi (trunk of spire), N. side, of Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhuvaneśvar, about 1000 A. D.

Pl. XVII.

- Fig. 1. Door lintel of Rāmeśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar, c. A. D. 800.
 Śiva and Pārvatī on Kailāś in the centre, miniature gates and shrines with figures, head and liṅga, on the sides, above beading with motifs of wooden origin.
 Fig. 2. Haṁsalatā motif, from Pābhāga of Paraśurāmeśvar temple, S. side.
 Fig. 3. Acrobat between pilasters from frame of main niche, ibid.
 Fig. 4. Gavākṣa, split and beaded, with Buddha-like figure of Śiva Lakulīśa (?), called Śaṅkarācārya by the local people ; divine devotees within, couples on wings of Gavākṣa ; on side of Gaṇḍi, ibid.
 Fig. 5. Jamb of niche frame, Someśvar temple, Mukhaliṅgam, c. A. D. 900.

Pl. XVIII.

- Fig. 1. Side niche, Paraśurāmeśvar temple.
 Fig. 2. Detached fragment from Bhuvaneśvar, c. A. D. 800 ; London, Private collection.
 Fig. 3. Bāra (wall of sanctuary, South side), Someśvar temple, Mukhaliṅgam.

Pl. XIX.

- Fig. 1. Kāma with Ratī and Tṛṣṇā, Uttareśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar, c. A. D. 800.
 Fig. 2. Karttikeya from Puri, tenth century ; London, Private collection.

- Fig. 3. Corner portion of wall of Citragupteśvar temple with Dōpichā Virāla (rampant lion with one face and two bodies on the edge and the two adjacent sides respectively, with rider and prostrate elephant below; Nāga coiled round pilaster (see also Pl. XXII, Fig. 1). Eleventh century.
- Pl. XX. Fragment of Maithuna couple, Bhuvaneśvar, eleventh century, London, Private collection.
- Pl. XXI. Miniature Bhadrā shrine on wall of Brahmeśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar, eleventh century. The black and white chess-board pattern of the Pīṭhās (tiers) and recesses of Gaṇḍī, and of frame, the modelling of the vanalatā (scroll) panels make a frame rich and balanced in contrast, of Śiva Naṭarāja, who, four armed and with a viṇā across his body dances on Nandin (re. this Eastern Indian type of Naṭarāja, cf. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca museum*, p. 111.).
- Pl. XXII.
- Fig. 1. Portion of Bāṛa (wall of cella) and Gaṇḍī of Mukteśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar, middle tenth century.
- Fig. 2. Portion of Bāṛa, Rāja-Rānī temple, Bhuvaneśvar, twelfth century.
- Pl. XXIII.
- Fig. 1. Kicaka from Koṇāraka, thirteenth century. Private collection, London.
- Fig. 2. Mother and child, on North wall of Bāṛa, Jagannātha temple, Puri, twelfth century.
- Fig. 3. Horseman riding over a fallen elephant and a horse; a demon (?) with shield and sword behind, on the right. Panel on wall of Maṇḍapa, Koṇāraka.
- Pl. XXIV. Part of roof of Bhadrā (maṇḍapa), Koṇāraka.



A PAINTING FROM JAIPUR

By KHITINDRANATH MAZUMDAR.

The Govardhanadara scene (Pl. XXV)¹ belongs to a Kṛṣṇa līlā series, painted in Jaipur in the seventeenth century. The subject has been frequently represented in Rājasthānī and Pahārī painting, but the phase illustrated here is not often met with. Kṛṣṇa, the boy, is shown here vividly rushing along to shelter the rain-drenched people of Bṛndāban from the wrath of Indra, who is seen riding on his white elephant amongst the dark clouds, with a commanding gesture that bids the other gods to pour down rain. Kṛṣṇa has not as yet touched the mountain which he will lift so that it shelters the people of Bṛndāban. He just raises his arm and the mountain seems to feel the gesture and to start rising up so as to allow the hand of the blue god to lift it further. The villagers have thought shelter under cloth of varied hues. They have spread it over themselves and their women, who surround them, each batch in a sheltered cavern of gaily coloured cloth, drawn over their heads. While these groups are huddled together resignedly, others approach,—two and two, wrapt within the cloth tied above their heads, with timid and worshipping movements,—the god who is to save them. One shepherd with a leaf-umbrella-hat on his head has come between the groups and watches stolidly, while another, with less cloth on but with more temperament, has further approached towards Kṛṣṇa and while pointing out his approaching shape, he turns back to the others with a gesture of assurance. (What spontaneity in this abhaya mudrā !). But what 'single-handed' victory also the boy-god is about to achieve, when a chain of many-hued gods, with white flowers in their hair, lavishly pour down garlands of rain across mountains of clouds and yellow snakes of lightening.

The mountain itself soars like an island cut of precious gems against a green and refreshed earth, while there is much brooding gloom lurking on the horizon. In a wide arch it is raised behind the scene on earth, a dark rim to its joyous colours

1. Size of painting : 16" x 8¾" ; Calcutta, Private collection.

flecked with rain, flecked also with a gay pattern of leaves and blossoms, swaying upwards or resting in clusters. The tiger in the cave, the practising yogis outside any shelter, up on the hill, reddish brown and pervanche blue, share in the exhilaration to come, anticipatngly with their colour.

The pale greys and white of elephant, clouds and gods, against the deeper browns of a tempestuous atmosphere reach to the dark zone which looms above the earth. From here downwards, the further, the gayer, the loudness of the people—as far as colours go—below, is subdued by the pink, mauve, russet and maroon zones of the hill. The painting full of colour and contrast is soothed by a white veil of rain.

Colour, gesture and the entire arrangement are spontaneous. An age-old myth is experienced afresh with rustic refinement.



REVIEWS

The Transformation of Nature in Art. By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press: 1934. 8vo, 245 pages.

I do not hesitate to express my opinion that this is the finest book Dr. Coomaraswamy has written so far. For some time past it was evident to most of us that he was deeply interested in Indian æsthetics, and that something, some idea, was generally growing in his mind, for he has published a number of articles of outstanding interest dealing with aspects of the problem; yet few of us could have supposed that the ultimate outcome would be a book of an excellence such like the one before us. As a matter of fact, discriminating readers of his "History of Indian and Indonesian Art" must have received the impression that Dr. Coomaraswamy was more concerned with archæology and history than art. But this is a time of collecting and stating facts, and it will take a long time before people will realize that many objects which have been unearthed from the soil of India can be interesting from the point of view of archæology, but they are not necessarily works of art. Nay, a number of the most interesting objects are quite uninteresting for the art historian although they may thrill the archæologist.

From this book of Dr. Coomaraswamy it will become clear that he knows very well what real art should be. Although the first impression the reader receives from the pages will be that of a rather *punditic* work, it will be soon felt that behind and between the large number of quotations Dr. Coomaraswamy develops very distinct and lucid ideas of his own. His mastery of the subject is astonishing, but more inspiring is the deep understanding which lies behind all his quotations.

No doubt the first and the second chapters (The Theory of Art in Asia, and Meister Eckhart's View of Art) will impress most readers as the most important ones in the book. The absolute identity of the medieval European and the Indian æsthetic theories is striking enough, but the Chinese point of view I am unable to examine in the original. Foremost among the æsthetic ideas of the Hindus and medieval Christians is that the artist is not a copyist or an imitator of Nature (as Aristoteles would have it), but a Creator, a Divine Maker, in whose mind (*citta*) the real work is "made"; the execution is a matter of skill, but the real creation is a matter of divine intuition and meditation; the artist has to approach his subject with something similar to devotional concentration; art needs "ekagrata" to put it this way, and a real masterpiece is the outcome of a state of mind that, I suggest, is twin-brother of William James's "religious experience". A quotation from the *Śukranītisāra*, p. 117 (already published in *Mélanges Linossier*) makes it clear that even if an artist studies the forms of nature (a horse), and has the model (*bimba*) before him, he must "make his visual contemplation" before he proceeds to work. It is the mental image that matters: an image that is nearer to God (which is in us) than the image which our eyes see (which is in matter). "Modern European art", says the author, (p. 31), "endeavours to represent things as they are in themselves, Asiatic and (medieval) Christian art to represent things more nearly as they are in God, or nearer to their source". This is clear thinking, and shared by modern (very modern) European artists in its entirety.

The idea of *l'art pour l'art*, art for art's sake, unfortunately still prevails in certain "artistic" circles. The perfect futility of this ill-conceived thought has been shown already in 1914 in that masterful introduction which Mr. Eric Gill wrote to Dr. Coomaraswamy's '*Viśvakarmā*' and is now expounded at length in his freshly written book, "Art, and a Changing Civilisation" (The Twentieth Century Library, London: 1934) Every work of art must serve a purpose outside itself: and Indian art, like medieval Christian art, was great art just on account of the fact that

it served its purpose which was essentially religious. This immediately renders absurd the claim that art is a matter of feeling only and that æsthetic experience is a pure emotion. No ; art has an end, and the intellect has a great deal to do with it. No æsthetic experience can possibly exclude entirely reason. The ultimate goal of art, as the author points out, is a perfection in which pictorial and formal elements are not merely reconciled, but completely identified. "At this distant but ever virtually present point, all necessary for art disappears, and the Islāmic doctors are justified in their assertion that the only true artist (*muṣavvir*) is God, in Indian terms *nirmāṇa-kāraka*." (p. 21). The doctrine of art for art's sake, the author says in an excellent passage, is disposed of in a sentence quoted in the *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, V, 1, Commentary: "All expressions, human or revealed, are directed to an end beyond themselves ; or if not so determined, are thereby comparable only to the utterances of a madman." (P. 47).

Dr. Coomaraswamy sums up the Indian (and Chinese) theory of art as follows : "What are probably the most significant elements in the Asiatic theory are the views (1) that æsthetic experience is an ecstasy in itself inscrutable, but in so far as it can be defined, a delight of the reason, and (2) that the work of art itself, which serves as the stimulus to the release of the spirit from all inhibitions of vision, can only come into being as a thing ordered to specific ends. Heaven and Earth are united in the analogy...of art, which is an ordering of sensation to intelligibility and tends toward an ultimate perfection in which the seer perceives all things imaged in himself." (P. 56f.) The expression "delight of the reason" is somewhat unfortunate but we understand what the author intends to say : nothing else, evidently, but that both reason and emotion have a share in the ecstasy which is the result of art ; and when he writes "specific ends", he means, evidently just "perfection" or "realization of the Divine in ourselves". I firmly believe, the above lines quoted from Dr. Coomaraswamy's book really represent the best definition of art ever given. This, surely, is the highest compliment I can pay to this fine book, and if in the following lines I offer a few suggestions they are not in the manner of criticism but rather as thoughts that occurred to me while reading Dr. Coomaraswamy's book.

First of all, I would like to point out that theory and practice, as so often, are not always the same. In Europe æsthetic theories of the new times are definitely inferior to those of the middle-ages or to those of India ; yet some magnificent masterpieces have been produced notwithstanding these theories. On the other hand, though the æsthetic theories in India were and remained excellent, not every piece of sculptured stone is a masterpiece in this country. Especially in later times when canonical rules and measurements were given for every detail, a large number of images were produced which are perfectly correct as regards their *talas* and iconography, yet they are far from being masterpieces.

Secondly, as we are talking about Nature, it is a fact (and here we entirely agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy and Mr. Eric Gill) that European art of the last few centuries became on the whole an exaggerated imitation of the forms of Nature. I explain this as an outcome of that "scientific" spirit that prevailed in European civilization since the Renaissance. Man was so intensely interested in the outside world, so enamoured of the study of all that was outside him, that the artist became a kind of scientist : he recorded facts with the utmost precision, like a botanist or a mineralogist. It is perfectly true that this spirit was inartistic. The result was a form of colour-photography, otherwise called Academic art. Yet it would be quite wrong to conclude that a thorough study of Nature's form was in any way contradictory to art. "Naturalism in art has nothing to do with subject-matter in itself", says Dr. Coomaraswamy (p. 82). Yes, that is true. But Nature has to do a lot with art. Be it as a mere "garb" or "symbol" of the Divine : the forms of Nature have definitely a role in art. Did Indian artists not study animals ? Some of their finest animal figures are evidently based on a thorough observation of the form "outside." The passage in the *Śukranīṭisāra* to which I already referred says : "When a figure of a horse is to be made, the model should always be in view, and if one cannot be looked at, the figure should not be made." I would not go as far as that. I would only say that an artist should not endeavour to make an image of a horse if he has never studied a horse. In the actual moment of composition, I am certain, only the image in the mind matters. But previous study is a help towards "skill." I may mention that there is a school of artists in Europe and in India at present, members of which are literally afraid of making anything "like" Nature, so horrified are they at the photographic art recently produced. Well, the truth is this, that a great artist pours his divine view of Line and Colour and Shape in any material, even into a mere portrait or a landscape. Sieved through his

mind, as it were, forms acquire a new significance, a depth and a New Life that are more than existed in the original. Meister Eckhart says that æsthetic experience is "a seeing of things in their perfection." The perfection is seen and added by the artist, but the things are there. Nature is a glorious storehouse of things into which we can "hineininterpretieren" perfection; or, in other words, a devotee sees God not in the temple only, but everywhere in Creation. (Rūpa-śobhā, p. 102, is the same : beauty of form).

The other chapters in the book have been already published, though they are corrected here and there in the present form. I object to the author's lately adopted translation of 'devas' by Angels. Angels and devas resemble each other very little, and the translation of devas is gods, with a small "g."

Such minor details, however, do not matter in a book of outstanding importance and lasting value.

C. L. Fábri.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, for the Year 1932, Vol. VII. Kern Institute, 4-to, Pp. xii and 178, and plates I-X. Leyden : E. J. Brill Ltd., 1934.

The volume under review has made its timely and welcome appearance. In the introductory portion, as usual, a brief survey of the most important discoveries and explorations in the vast field of Indian and Indonesian archaeology is given and the chief editor has rightly claimed for it a more representative character in the present volume than in its predecessors. H. Frankfort's leading article contains an interesting comparison of the finds of Mohenjo-daro with those discovered by himself in course of his recent excavations in the Akkadian city at Tell Asmar. After a brief but interesting survey of the architecture, metrology, religious monuments and seal designs of the Mesopotamian and Indus valley regions, he arrives at the inevitable conclusion 'that an important element in the population of the two regions belonged originally to a common stock.' He has nothing to say against the usually accepted view about the age of the Indus civilisation; but he would not describe it as chalcolithic as that would suggest too early a date. Sir Aurel Stein in his preliminary note on the results of his archaeological tours in Southern Persia produces interesting evidence which would disprove the theory about direct maritime intercourse between Mesopotamia and the Indus valley in the period of chalcolithic civilization. His discoveries in the drainage-less basin of Bampur, about half-way between Elam and the Indus valley tend to prove that the contact between these two important centres of chalcolithic civilization was overland. M. Hackin's account of the explorations at Bāmiyān by the French Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan refers to valuable data which throw much light on the question of Iranian influence in Buddhist art. The summaries of the epigraphical discoveries in India and on Indian numismatics by Dr. Vogel and Mr. R. Burn respectively, are useful. The meagreness of notices regarding archaeological explorations in India is to be accounted for by the fact that such work in India has been restricted to a great extent on account of the financial stringency of the Indian Government.

We should like to suggest only one point. Sometimes the notices about the entries under different heads seem to be a little out of proportion. Thus, it happens that articles from daily papers (cf. p. 95, no. 254) or monthly journals of secondary importance are comparatively elaborately noticed. Happily, this is only occasional.

There is an elaborate index appended to the volume which is excellently illustrated by plates and figures.

Jitendra Nath Banerjee.

Canons of Orissan Architecture. By Nirmal Kumar Bose. pp. lv and 281. Published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta. 1932, Price Rs. 10/-

Mr. Bose has ably and scholarly edited for the first time manuscripts, containing architectural traditions prevailing in ancient Orissa. The author's knowledge of Orissa, her people and monuments, gained through years of intimate study and personal contact enhances the value of the work. He has secured several readings of Orissan canons of architecture and studied them with the help of local craftsmen. This has been supplemented by field-work in different parts of Orissa and the neighbouring provinces. "When similar restorations are available for other provinces in India," he hopes in the Introduction, "and the existing examples of architecture studied in their light, it will be

possible to reconstruct the history of Indian architecture with some degree of certainty." We expect that in a future edition of this book, he would try to identify, and classify, the details of the existing examples of Orissan architecture, with the help of the light obtained from an intensive reading of the Śilpaśāstras.

Seven manuscripts have been examined mostly collected from the Puri district, in preparing the volume under review. "Five of the mss. are different recensions of the treatise on architecture named Bhuvana-pradīpa, the rest are copies of different books dealing with the erection of thatched huts. The name of the latter book is merely given as śilpipothi on śilpa-śāstra which means 'The Book of Art.'

The first chapter of the book under review deals with the Book of Architecture and its author. The classification of soils, described in the second, may provide food for reflection to modern engineers, who are often prone to neglect the importance of this fundamental aspect. After passing over a chapter on Augury, we come next to the Determination of the Nāga's position. "According to the śilpaśāstras, it is imagined that a great serpent (nāga) lies encircling every building site." Its body, divided into eight equal parts, moves round and round in a clockwise direction. This close association between the Nāga and ancient Orissan architecture both in theory and practice, we believe, may account for the great prevalence of the Nāga motif in Khmer architecture in Cambodia and Indonesia. Astrological considerations, auspicious ceremonies, and miscellaneous matters are dealt with successively. The classification of the different types of Orissan temples is not only extremely interesting but fully convincing. The characteristics of the Rekha temple, along with details of specification and construction, deserve the exhaustive treatment accorded to them. The reconstruction of the elevation of the Rekha Deul by late M. Ganguly in "Orissa and Her Remains" (Pl. II) suffered from a defect, as he erroneously identified the lowermost member as Jāngha instead of Pāthāga (Pādabhāga), resulting in a confused identification of the upper components. The Bhadra temple, the Khākhara temple, pedestals and other architectural features receive their due share of attention.

Great improvement upon Mr. Ganguly's list of technical terms is noticeable in our author's "Dictionary of Architectural Terms" at the end of the book. Some more material of the nature of the comparative study on Rekha temples, included in the Appendix A, would have been welcome. An attempt at the restoration of the text of Bhuvanapradīpa is given in Appendix B. The numerous illustrations and diagrams, although not always of the same quality, add greatly to the attraction of the volume. More attention, however, should have been devoted to the transliteration of Sanskrit and Oriya words.

D. P. Ghosh.

Tiruparuttikunram and its Temples. By T. N. Ramachandran—(With appendices on Jaina units of measurement and time, Cosmology and Classification of souls). Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series-General Section, Vol. I, No. 3, Pp. 260, and 37 plates. Price Rs. 11-4.

Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Ramachandran, the small village of Tiruparuttikunram, on the outskirts of Conjeeveram, has now become an important place for the student of Jainism, and ancient Indian architecture and painting. The author has proved that the modern village of Tiruparuttikunram is to be identified with Jina-Kāñci, one of the four Jaina vidyā-thānas. The village contains two Jaina temples one of Candraprabhā and another of Vardhamana. The temples supply us with an epitome of the main features of the mediaeval temple architecture of southern India. What is more, the verandah and the maṇḍapa are adorned with paintings, depicting scenes from Jaina mythology and the life of Tīrthaṅkaras. They also contain many inscriptions, and the author has contributed a valuable historical note on them.

No attempt however has been made by the author to judge the technique and æsthetic value of the paintings, but as the book contains copious illustrations, it is hoped that a specialist would, in the near future supplement Mr. Ramachandran's labours. Some reproductions in colour would have enhanced the value of the work. The author is of opinion that the Sittanavāsai ceiling paintings are Jaina. It is evident that he has not consulted N. C. Mehta's 'Studies in Indian Paintings' nor seen its first three plates. On the whole the book has added much to our knowledge of Jaina paintings.

A. C. Banerji.

Journal
of
The Indian Society
of
Oriental Art

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E. B. HAVELL+

E. B. Havell has passed away. The guiding spirit that led the revival of true Indian art ceases to be. This great Englishman came to show us the right path with his lamp of sympathy and understanding when we had lost confidence in our power to create and cherished a pathetic faith in the imitation of the west. With infinite patience he taught us to bring our offerings to the altar of our own gods. His efforts were richly rewarded by the inspiration to such masters as Abanindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose and many others. No elaborate monument is required to perpetuate his name, for the work of Abanindranath Tagore and his school will be a living tribute to Mr. Havell's memory for all the times to come.

Rabindranath Tagore.

I am writing of that time in India, about thirty years ago, when on the one hand eminent archæologists were dryly discussing and analysing the old temples and monuments of India and on the other hand in all the art schools training was imparted in the most stereotyped method with the help of casts from Greek and Roman statues and cheap prints of mediocre European paintings.

Just at that time Mr. E. B. Havell made us understand by his writings that it is impossible to appreciate the real beauty and meaning of architecture, sculpture and painting of India merely by iconographical, mathematical and historical analysis.

Up till then it was as if only the outer surface of the monuments, their age and measurements were served to us by the archaeologists. But Havell in his writings combined the work of an archaeologist, the art of a critic and the profound knowledge of the inherent beauty and philosophy of Indian art.

Along with his writings he endeavoured to impart to the art students of this country a fitting training in the eastern style of painting. During this period of remodelling the art schools, the relationship between the Indian painters and Havell

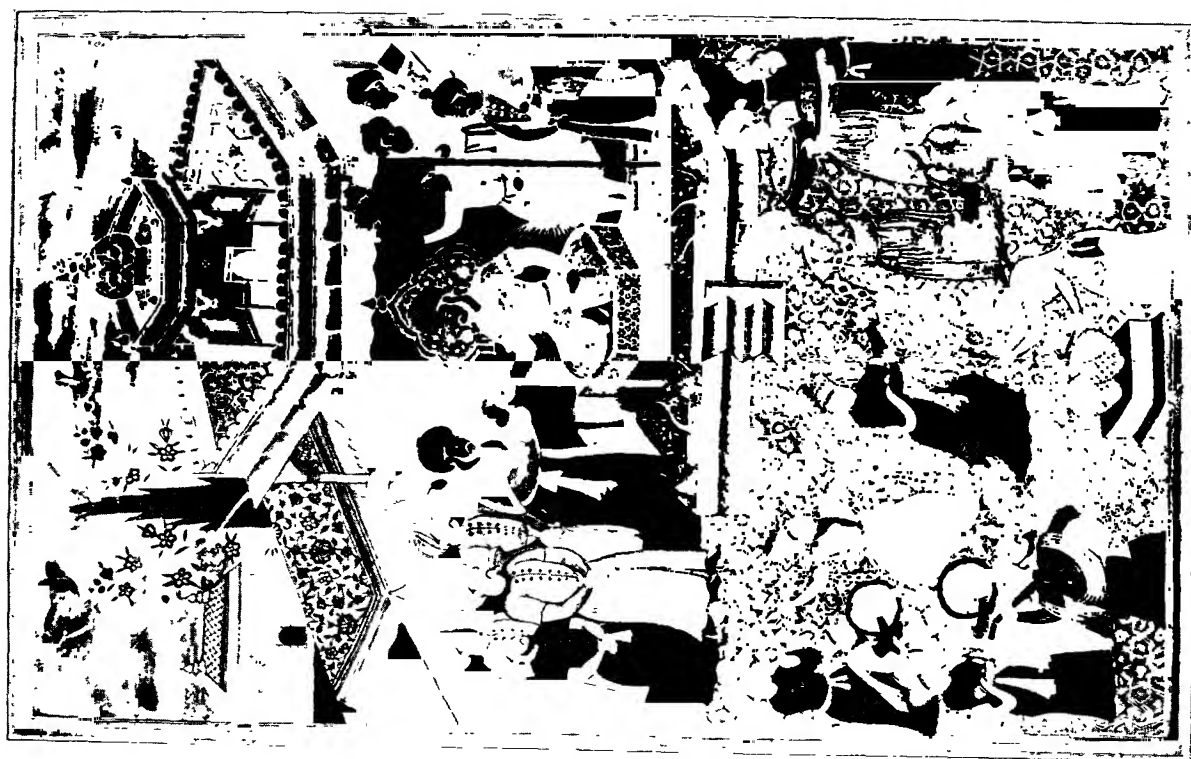
was naturally strained ; the bird accustomed to the gilded cage wanted to peck at the man who wanted to give it freedom by placing it on the bough of the tree, its natural home.

At that time no recognition was given to art-education in any institution or university in India. A great agitation was created in the world of educationalists in India in respect of art training in the schools and other institutions. However, Havell won his point in the long run.

Havell appreciated and understood the culture of India with the eye of a seer and though many in India may not have understood him, he has opened the eyes of the world to an appreciation of Indian art and we must join the others in paying him similar honour as the pioneer of real art education in India.

His life's mission was to prepare books of drawing for little children as well as to write masterly works on different branches of Indian art.

Abanindranath Tagore.



A DATED ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF AKBAR'S REIGN

By J. V. S. WILKINSON

M. Ivan Stchoukine, in his discerning book on Indian painting, remarks¹, with reason, on the difficulty of establishing any but a conjectural chronological order among the surviving illustrated manuscripts of Akbar's reign, owing to the fact that they are mostly undated. Yet both M. Stchoukine and other historians of Indian painting have overlooked an important dated manuscript, though this has been in the possession of the British Museum since 1871.

The manuscript² in question is a copy of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī's Persian History of Tīmūr, known as the Zafar-nāma. This celebrated work, though its style is sometimes adversely criticized (by the late Professor Browne, for instance), was always highly esteemed by Persian writers. Composed originally in 1425, 20 years after Tīmūr's death, it was accepted as the chief authority for his reign. Manuscripts of the work of all periods are fairly common, and it is interesting to note that it was translated into French as long ago as 1722 by Petis de la Croix, and from the French into English by J. Darby in the following year.

Akbar, like his successors, was exceedingly proud of his descent from Tīmūr, though he never went so far as his grandson Shāh Jahān, who was in the habit of describing himself on his coins as "Ṣānī Ṣāhib Qirān", or "The Second Lord of the Conjunctions"; the original "Lord of the Conjunctions" having been Tīmūr himself. Abu'l-Fazl, moreover, in the Ā'in i Akbarī, specifically mentions the Zafar-nāma among the books which Akbar caused to be illustrated; the others being the Chingiz-nāma, the Razm-nāma, Nal Daman, and the fable books.

The manuscript which is the subject of this notice may just possibly be the original copy of the history which Akbar had illustrated. There is however no actual

1. La Peinture Indienne, p. 38.

2. Oriental 1052.

proof of this, and one would rather have expected the date in that case to be somewhat earlier than 1600 A. D.—only five years, that is to say, before the end of the Emperor's long reign. Our manuscript is dated in a manner which is beyond suspicion, in words as well as figures, "Friday, the 2nd. of Muḥarram, 1009 A. H., which corresponds to the 14th. of July, 1600 A. D. The writing of the colophon is obviously in the same hand as that of the rest of the text.

Whether or not this is the original copy made for Akbar, it is quite an imposing volume, measuring some 12 by 8 inches. The writing is a good nasta'liq, and the seven illustrations, which occupy a full page each, are in a fine state of preservation, a testimony to the quality of the pigments. Some damage has been done by worms.

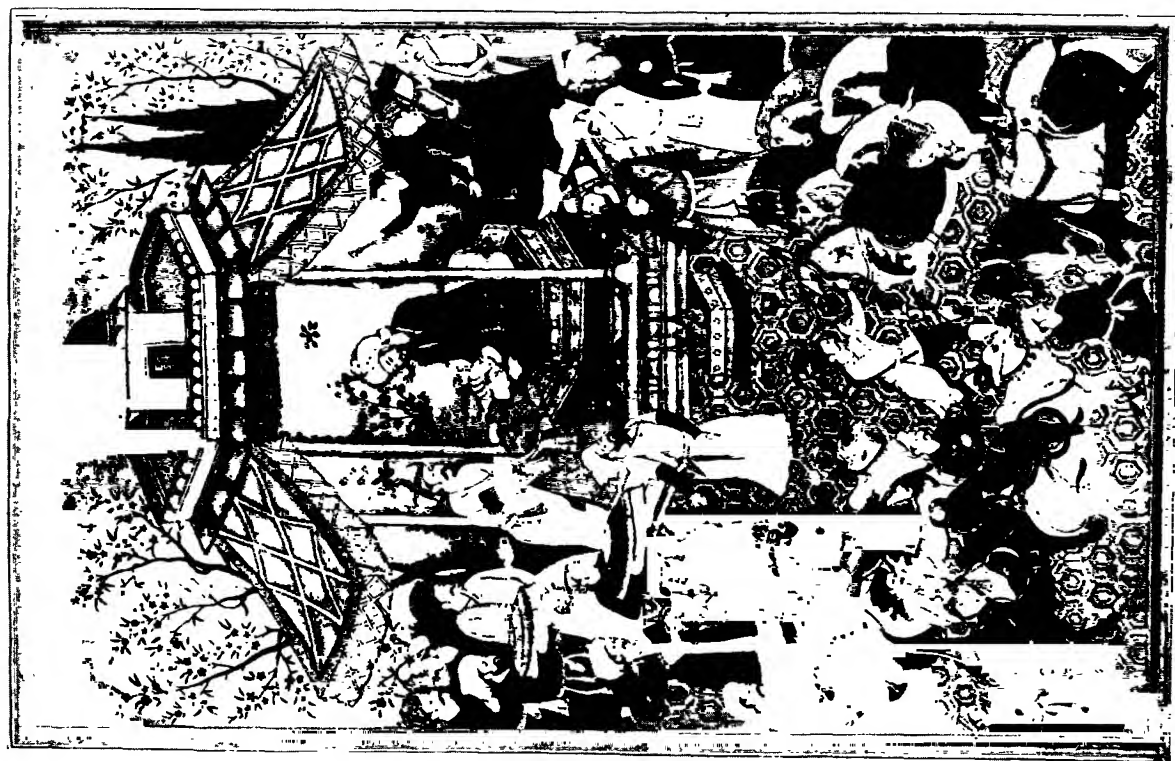
In their general character the illustrations do not differ in any marked way from those usually associated with the latter part of Akbar's reign. Much had been learnt, it is clear, by now, especially in the matter of colour, and though the paintings in our manuscript do not approach in refinement and freedom some of those of a few years later, they are far in advance, technically, of the relatively crude efforts of the early part of the reign. The colouring, on the whole, as compared with that of the illustrations in the well-known *Wāqī'āt i Bāburī* belonging to the British Museum (Oriental 3714) is definitely brighter, but hardly so rich; there is rather too much red. The drawing, too, is a trifle less accomplished, the landscapes are less carefully worked out, and the designs seem to show a trifle less enterprize, though there are hardly enough to judge by. Yet in the matter of liveliness our artist (perhaps there are more than one) is not open to reproach, while the very subjects chosen suggest a deliberate choice of dramatic motives and unusual occasions. These are :—

1. (f. 50 verso) Tīmūr enthroned and acclaimed as Ṣāḥib Qirān, after overthrowing his rival Sultan Ḥusain.

2. (f. 67 verso) The infant son of Tīmūr, afterwards the Emperor Shāh Rukh, brought before his father. Two dancing-girls are performing to a musical accompaniment. (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 1).

3. (f. 137 verso) A battle scene. The young Shāh Rukh brings the head of Shāh Maṇṣūr to the Emperor.

4. (f. 182) Tīmūr's attack on the Badakhshān infidels. He himself and his Amīrs and horses are let down a precipitous mountain-side by ropes. (Pl. XXVI, Fig. 2).



5. (f. 191) An incident from Tīmūr's Indian campaign. Pīr Muḥammad Jahāngīr, who has arrived from Multān, entertains the Emperor. Some of his army having lost their horses in the campaign, are mounted on oxen. (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 1).

6. (f. 269 verso). Bāyazīd, the Ottoman Sultan, brought bound before Tīmūr after his defeat at the battle of Angora.

7. (f. 307). Tīmūr, in old age, holds a great feast to celebrate the marriage of six of his grandsons. (Pl. XXVII, Fig. 2).

One is inclined, on the evidence of this manuscript, to place the *Wāqī'āt i Bāburī* rather later than the early period to which it is usually assigned by critics,¹ owing to its approximation in style to our manuscript, but allowance must of course be made for the consideration that stylistic changes are irregular, all artists not moving exactly together.

In the portraiture of our illustrations, notably in that of Tīmūr, there is some evidence of an attempt to achieve real likeness, and one wonders what models the painters had to rely on. In Persian manuscripts of the *Zafar-nāma* —and some of them are older than this —close portraiture is not usually aimed at, and this Indian figure of Tīmūr is certainly more individual and convincing. In the representations of the other figures less trouble has been taken, different personalities not being distinguished with the care of the next period, though the Mongolian features of the courtiers are noticeable.

In Plates XXVI, Fig. 1 and XXVII, Fig. 2 the contrast between Tīmūr in his prime and in old age is well accented.

¹ M. Stchoukine, however, is cautious, placing it, conjecturally, in the latter part of Akbar's reign.

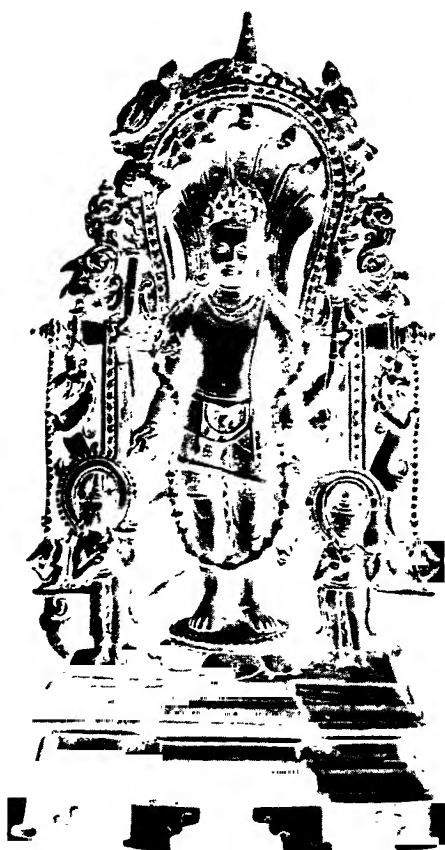
METAL IMAGES OF KURKIHAR MONASTERY

By K. P. JAYASWAL

Kurkihar is a very large village situated in the district of Gaya at a distance of about 16 miles from the town of Gaya. The village is accessible by a light motor car, as a part of the road is unmetalled. It is under the police station Wazirgunj and three miles from the railway station of Wazirgunj on the Gaya-Kiul branch. Reference may be made to Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Report*, I, pp. 14-16, plates XII (plan), XIII (inscription).

About 240 pieces of metal images and other antiquities were accidentally discovered by the landlord in the village of Kurkihar in the year 1930. An English official mentioned the fact of the discovery to me. Steps were taken to move the Government of Bihar and Orissa to acquire the find under the Treasure Trove Act. After a prolonged proceeding the images were obtained by the local Government and made over to the Patna Museum.

The site of the discovery was visited by me. There are three well defined mounds of large dimensions. On two of these now stand the houses of tenants and on the third the house and establishment of the landlord are located. The images have been found in the last mound which is nearer the Bāgeśvarī temple. By the side of the mound there is a large lake ; on its banks numerous monolith votive stūpas lie scattered. To the east of the mound, is the Bāgeśvarī temple referred to above. Numerous stone images of the Pāla period have been collected there. The whole village has been using the mounds as quarries for bricks for several generations. The landlord has constructed large buildings with these bricks and erected an extensive cowshed on stone pillars which once formed the colonnade of the monastery at the site. The present landlord was repeating the process of his forefathers, of excavating bricks for putting up a new structure, when the spade accidentally struck these images which had been carefully stowed away and buried in a corner of a room—a little below the ground level of the street and some 15 feet below the top of the mound. Smaller pieces were found packed in earthen



jars and larger ones were piled on the ground, the heaviest ones downmost. The metal images buried in the monastery, which are now before us, prove that the religious foundation had existed for several centuries.

Like the metal umbrella of the Bodh-Gayā temple, these metal images were carefully concealed by the monks when the invading Muhammadan army was advancing. This must have been in the year 1197 A. D. when Bihar was effectively invaded by the Muhammadans for the first time and religious foundations were looted and destroyed. The images once buried could not be restored to the position of worship owing to the political and consequent religious revolution in the country following the fateful year of 1197.

The year 1197 thus fixes the latest date for the images. Dated images fashioned at least more than three and a half centuries before their burial testify to a career of the Kurkihar monastery extending over that period at all events.

The metal composition of the images is approximately as follows :

(i) Copper.....83.051%. (ii) Lead.....1.4%. (iii) Tin.....
13.009%. (iv) Iron.....1.081%.

The pieces received at the Museum number 230 including pedestals, conches, miniature crystal stūpas, bells, potteries, etc. The actual images are about 150. Three of the images are plated with gold. There were a few images of solid silver but they did not reach the authorities and the Museum.

As it is, the Kurkihar collection at the Patna Museum is the biggest metal group of a definite period in India. Although there are a few pieces which are pre-Pāla, the collection as a whole is Pāla. All the pieces have not been finally cleaned, but it is definite that 105 are inscribed pieces.

The earliest inscribed piece is an image of Bodhisattva Vāgīśvara (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3) which was fashioned for a foreigner whose effigy is also attached to the pedestal. His name was Māleka and he is described as Balika, i. e., 'of Bali' island. The name of Bali (island), is mentioned as Bali in the Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa, a work of c. 780 A. D.¹

There are eight dated inscriptions on the metal pieces where the reading is certain. I classify them in chronological order as follows :

I. Patna Museum No. 203, dated in the 9th regnal year of king

1. S. Lévi, G. O. S., No. LXVII, p. 10.

Devapāla (i. e., c. 826 A. D.), is the figure of the Brāhmaṇical god Balarāma (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1).

2-3. Patna Museum Nos. 152 and 155. These are two images of Vasudhārā (?) (Pl. XXXII, Figs. 1 and 3) cast by the same artist whose name has been given and who has been described as a resident of Śrīmad Āpaṇaka Mahāvihāra. These are almost duplicates and were both prepared in the 32nd regnal year of king Rājyapāla (i. e., c. 930 A. D.). Śrīmad Āpaṇaka Mahāvihāra was evidently the name of at least one of the Kurkihar monasteries.

4. Patna Museum No. 184, cast by the same artist and in the same, 32nd, year of king Rājyapāla. The image represents Umā-Maheśvara (Pl. XXXII, Fig. 2).

5. Patna Museum No. 143, a pedestal, which has two Nāgas rising from the womb of the earth. (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 1). According to the verses on the back of the pedestal, the figure installed on it was of the Buddha, cast in the reign of Rājyapāla, whose regnal year is not noted, the whole inscription being in verses. These four are the only records on images of Rājyapāladeva's reign.

6. Patna Museum No. 110, is a small figure of Cundā (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 2). It was executed in the 31st year of king Mahipāla (c. 1000 A. D.)

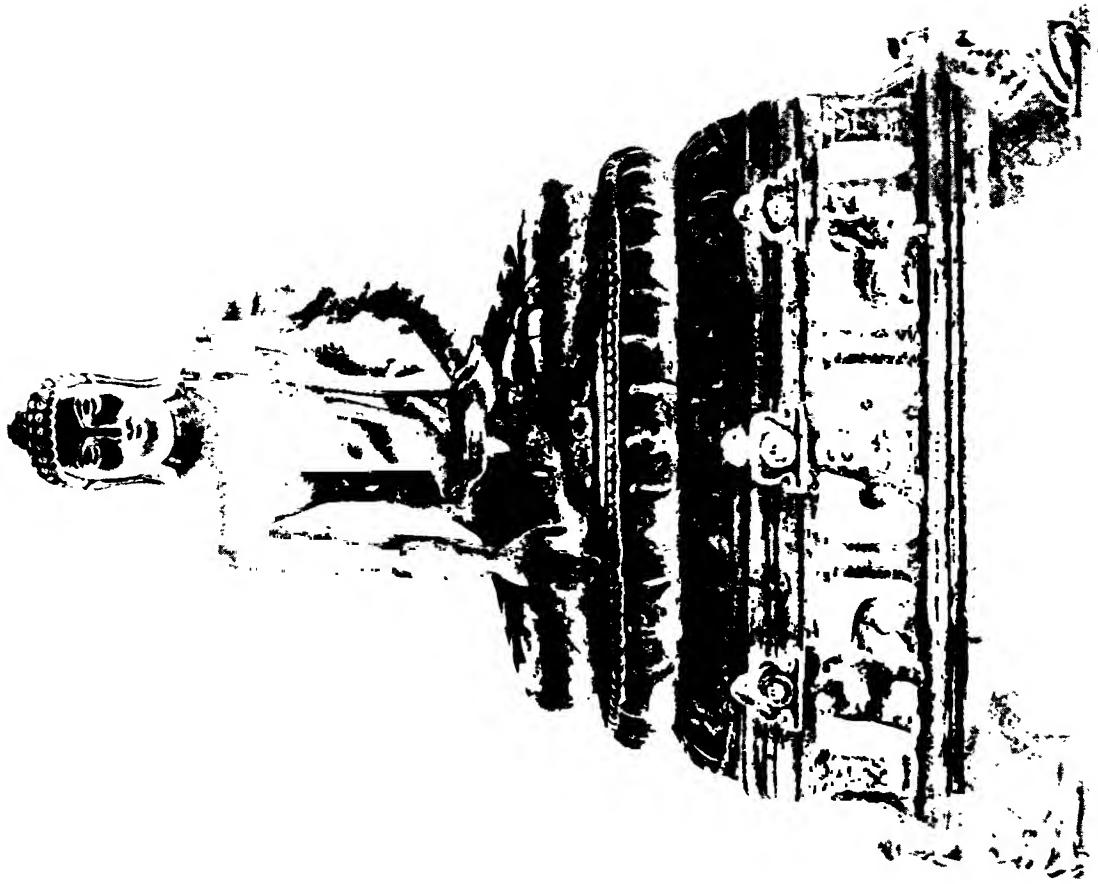
7. Patna Museum No. 9, is a crowned Buddha with abhaya-mudrā (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1). It was cast in the 3rd year of king Viśraha-pāla's (spelt here as Viśraha-pāla) reign, in a script which suddenly changes from the earlier script and may be described as proto-Maithilī or proto-Bengālī. This Viśraha-pāla is evidently Viśraha-pāla III, successor of Nayapāla. The image may be dated c. 1050 A. D.

8. Patna Museum No. 8, is also an image of the crowned Buddha (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 3). Although executed on a somewhat smaller scale, it is almost a duplicate of the previous image. It was cast in the 19th year of Viśraha-pāla III.

Probably a few more pieces will be found to be dated in the reign of Viśraha-pāladeva amongst the images yet partially cleaned.

We have thus dated images covering about two centuries and a quarter from Devapāla to Viśraha-pāla III. Numerous pieces bear undated inscriptions consisting mostly of the Buddhist creed, which are referable to the 10th and 11th centuries A. D.

There is one image of a gilded Buddha with varada mudrā, Patna Museum No. 204, (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1) which seems to me to be definitely Guptan from the



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point of style, but unfortunately it bears no inscription. It is the most corroded piece of the group and a class by itself. It evidently precedes the type of such figures as Patna Museum Nos. 3 and 4 (Pl. XXXI, Figs. 1—3) and is more in the neighbourhood of the Gupta tradition. The Buddha here, though in the attitude of conferring boons, is contemplative, looking inwards. The left hand holds the end of the garment. The figure was plated with pale gold, patches of which still remain on it. The silver alloy decoration is absent. This seems to be the oldest image in the Kurkihar group.

The earliest inscribed, though not dated image, as mentioned already, is a representation of Vāgīśvara, Patna Museum No. 36 (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). The image is in the teaching pose. In its left hand there is a lotus. It has an inscription in characters of the 8th century A.D. At the left hand corner below the pedestal, the kneeling figure is that of the donor who has non-Hindu features in addition to a beard.

Of the other images the following deserve special attention amongst images of the Buddha. The standing Buddha image, Patna Museum No. 3, (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1) stands on a pedestal crowned with an open lotus. The position is *abhaya-mudrā*, i.e., the Buddha offering to the world freedom from fear. The eyes and the *ūrṇā* between the brows (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 2) are made of a composition of silver and tin which has retained its original pearl-like lustre and has remained bright and unchanged in seven centuries of burial underground. It looks on you compassionately with the fixed determination of a saviour. The figure wears an upper garment, the left hand holding the end of it. There was originally a *prabhāmaṇḍala* attached to the back of the figure. I assign it to the 8th century A. D.

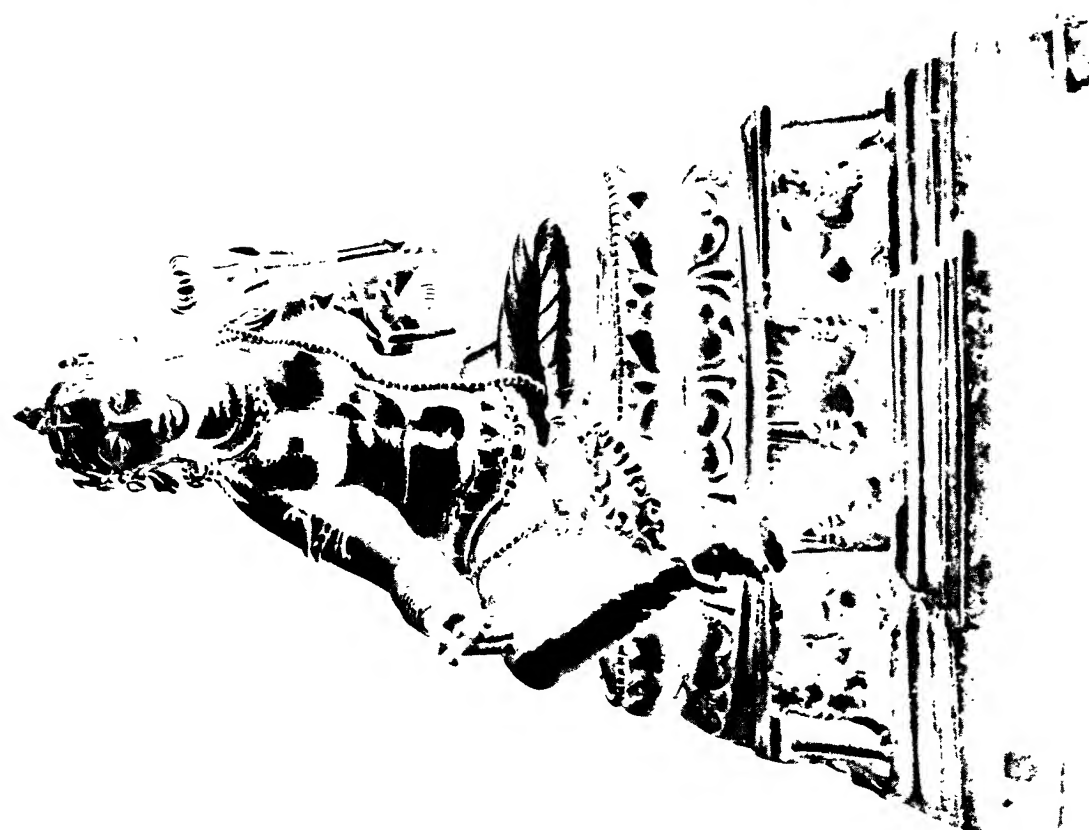
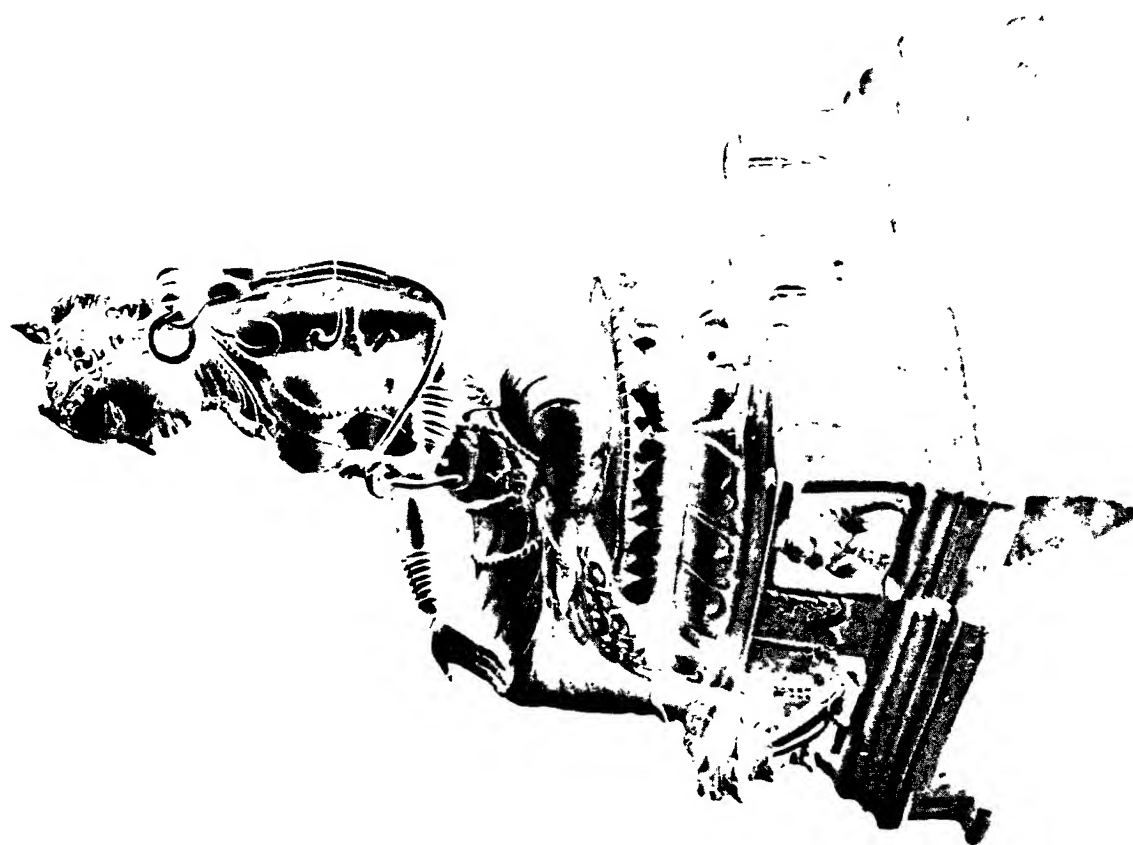
The other large image of Buddha, Patna Museum No. 4, (Pl. XXXI, Fig. 3) stands on a cushioned stool composed of two full-blown lotuses placed one upon the other, back to back, which is a common motif throughout these images. The motif represents a cushioned seat which is evident from those in the seated images. The figure belongs to the class of Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1, but is not so successful as the former. Both the face and its expression are softer and just begin to tend to the feminine type which is consciously resorted to in Pāla art. There it was realized, as amongst the Greeks in the 3rd century B. C., that a true godly type required a compromise between the male and the female types. This principle reverts again and again in both plastic and graphic arts in countries and circumstances widely separate in distance and age.

The class of images illustrated by the above two examples is the connecting link between the Gupta and Pāla plastic traditions. The moulding of the body shows a direct descent from the Gupta age, but the face receives a new exposition. Here we might recall the information given by the *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*, that when Buddhism declined (i.e., in the Imperial Gupta and Later Gupta period) a class of monk-artists arose who became philosophers in the science and art of image-making and who sought to revive Buddhism through the art-appeal of newly fashioned images. We may fix this period to be the 8th century A.D. which is the last period known to the *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*. The life found in the faces of the two images under discussion, is new, not to be had in the Buddha images of the Gupta period while for the rest the treatment is still mainly Gupta. The Buddha in these images is not inwardly turned but turned outwardly, speaking to and blessing the creation. These may be compared with the Buddha image, Patna Museum No. 204, (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1).

The Buddha with *bhūmiśparśa mudrā*, Patna Museum No. II, (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2) is seated on a pedestal with a lotus seat. There are three ruby pieces on the lion throne. This figure is a class by itself. The Enlightened One is calling mother Earth as a witness. The great moment in spiritual history is writ large on the face of the Lord, embarking on his mission of liberation. The body you see through the cloth—erect, breath suspended. The body having been subjected to the sacrifice of the self-imposed process of a long *tapasya-cogitation*, relates the story of the recent past leading to this critical moment. The free right hand by its length tells you that the ascetic is a superman. The Pāla craftsman has succeeded in portraying the spirit and strength where generations of Gandhāra workmen have failed. With an ascetic body and a face full of success and mission, the statue marks the zenith of Pāla art. There is an undated inscription on the back of the pedestal in characters of the 8th or 9th century A.D.

The standing image of *Avalokiteśvara*, Patna Museum No. 200 (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2) and the image of *Balarāma*, P. M. No. 203, (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1), the one Buddhist, the other Brāhmaṇical, seem to have been fashioned by contemporaries.

To this class belong the two representations of *Tārā*, Patna Museum No. 182 and Patna Museum No. 207 (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4 and Pl. XXX). Both these bronzes have been deprived of their *prabhāmaṇḍalas*. The seated image in *lalitāsana* pose (Pl. XXX) is masterful. It offers boons with a divine kindness. The face belongs to a familiar type we often come across in Bengal and is united with a body in which strength, grace and purity are remarkably blended.



The standing Tārā image (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4) has a marked affinity with the seated image, Pl. XXX. It has the technique, but not the spirit. The two female attendants with their almost waving fly-whisks deserve notice. The figure in its own right has merits. Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4 is far removed from the Vāgīśvara, P. M. No. 36, (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3) in treatment.

The following images make a group : the seated Lokanātha (Pl. XXXV), the crowned Buddha, P. M. No. 156, (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2), the crowned Buddha, P. M. No. 205, (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3) and the standing image of Lokeśvara, P. M. No. 33, (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4), of which the right hand is missing. It has an inscription in characters of the eleventh century.

Prabhāmaṇḍala and crown of the crowned Buddha, P.M. No. 156, (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2), are missing. Regarding these crowned Buddha images it may be said that they suggest the Hindu theory of the Buddha as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. This compromise in art is wholly unsupported by Buddhist canons, and the artist invented it to draw the Hindu to his church.

Though a crowned Buddha, Patna Museum No. 9, (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1), has the dignity and serenity of the Buddha, and stands in contrast with the weak, smiling Buddhas cited above. There is another piece allied to this, (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 3) almost a duplicate at a little reduced scale, evidently by the same artist, dated in the 19th year of Vīgrahapāla (Patna Museum No. 8). P. M. No. 33, (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 4), is a representation of Lokeśvara. He too resembles images of Viṣṇu, with four arms. A semi-human figure, Sūcīmukha, is looking up to him in devotion, in the pose of Garuḍa. The donor, a woman, kneels at the end of the pedestal. Decadence seems to have come into Buddhist art at this period, as it has lost, to some extent, vitality and become somewhat conventionalized.

The image of Lokanātha (Pl. XXXV), has a very fine gold coating which makes it radiant. Its craftsmanship is of high attainment. The character of Avalokiteśvara is fully brought out in the figure. Yet, a long and well-established tradition ripening into conventionalism ushers in here the last stage of Pāla art. The figure was richly bejewelled.

Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5, which bears Patna Museum No. 39, is the back-ground of a Buddha image. We have four crowned Buddhas in different mudrās as decorative figures and one dying Buddha by the side of the Kuśīnārā stupa. The figure at the left hand bottom is that of the mother of the Buddha and represents Buddha's birth. In its grace this female figure is remarkable. The frame bears a long inscription in characters of the IIth century A. D.

Patna Museum No. 199, (Pl. XXXVI) was originally a gilded one. This is the prototype of several Nepalese and Tibetan Śaiva images, remarkable for their strength. It is perfectly modelled in the round and belongs to the Kurkihar school. Like that of Lokanātha (Pl. XXXV), its necklace is touched with the white metal alloy (composition of silver and tin), and even the 'Bhairava' face is made to smile. It has a third eye on the forehead. The technique was carried to Java, Sumatra, Tibet, etc. The same peculiar silver composition is also found on Tibetan images.

There is a remarkable similarity of the lithic and bronze sculptures of Bihar in the Pāla period. The plastic treatment is identical. The old theory of fashioning gods in a material form was, that the author should practise dhyāna till the figure appeared to him in a vision. This was the method largely employed in Gupta times. This is the very method employed in another art up to this day. The masters of Indian music insist on this practice of dhyāna with a view to attaining perfection in regard to certain Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs. The art of sculpture in the Pāla period seems to have departed from this practice and figures were frequently made on a purely intellectual basis. Moreover they tended to be more realistic. The object of the Buddhist church art in the Pāla period came very near the ideal and the object of the Italian church artists. Beauty and attraction were provided to the public to incite devotion. It lacked in spiritual intensity. Scope and subject of the Buddhist artist were limited like those of the mediaeval Christian image-maker. In this matter, the Brāhmaṇical maker of images had comparatively a much wider field and horizon for the play of his imagination.

The Kurkihar monasteries seem to have had a reputation extending all over the Buddhist world. Cunningham found an inscription at Kurkihar which mentions a donor from Kerala "in the south" (Archaeol. Survey Report, I., Plate XIII, no. 7). He also found there donations by people from Śākala (Punjab) recorded in characters of 800 to 1000 A. D. And we now find a pilgrim to Kurkihar from Bali. It may be, however, pointed out that Kurkihar is on the route between Gayā and Bihar.

As up to this time no inscription earlier than the Pāla period has been found at the site (I have personally examined the stone sculptures collected at Bāgeśvarī temple), the presumption arises that it was probably a Pāla foundation and the place may not naturally be traceable in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. All the stones at Kurkihar without exception are of the kind employed by the Pālas, and not a single trace I could find of the Vindhyan sand-stone which was the material favourite



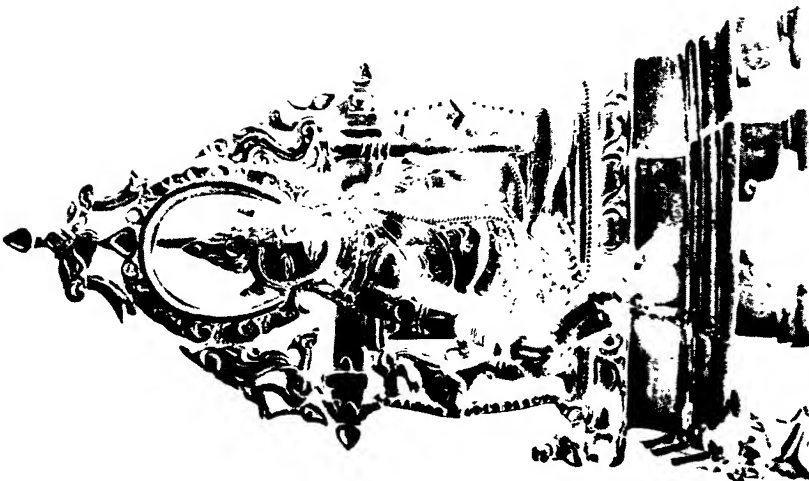
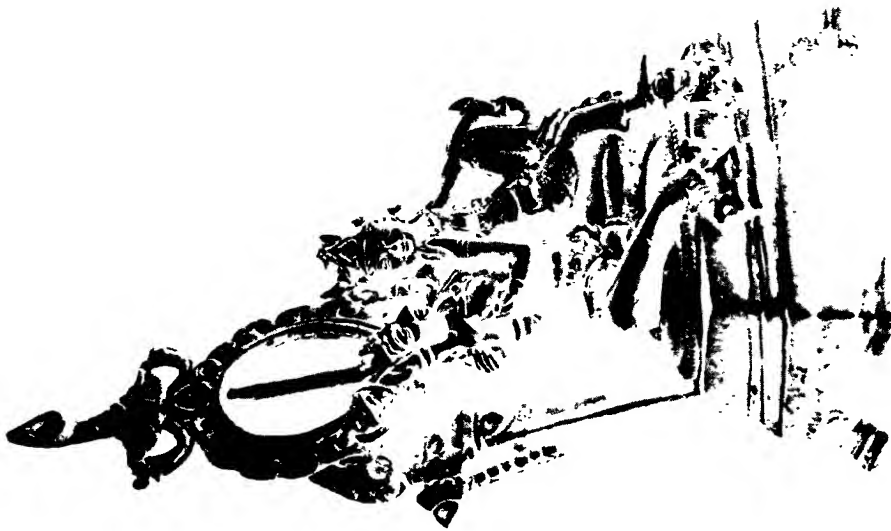
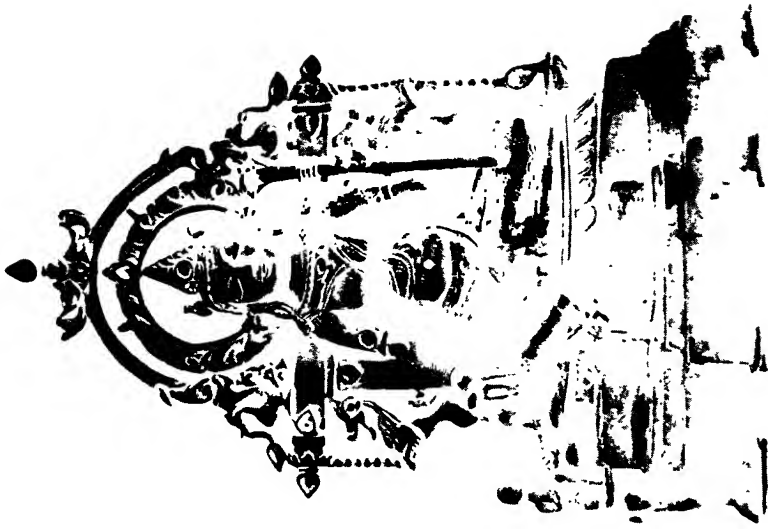
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with the Guptas in this part of the country. It is possible that the remains of the others two mounds which have not been explored may bring to light documents of an earlier history of the place; but the history of the monastery from where our images come is definite. The collection buried on the approach of the Muhammadans is almost a chronicled epitome of that history.

The most notable result obtained from that history is the new information regarding the chronology of art and of metal images especially, from Devapāla to Vigrahapāla III.

The Kurkihar specimens are to be compared with those of Nālandā which belong almost to the same period and school.¹

1. Note by St. Kramrisch :

a. Pre-Devapāla images.

The metal images from Kurkihar have the closest affinity with contemporary ones from Nālandā. While at the latter site the finds do not extend beyond the period of Devapāla (A. S. I., A. R. 1927-28, p. 98), it may be possible to ascertain whether some of them are prior to that period; for this purpose the metal images as well as the stone sculptures of the Pāla and pre-Pāla age will have to be viewed together. Published images only will be referred to in this note.

The image of Buddha (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1) may be seen along with that of Sarvāṇī (N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Pl. LXX) and with those of Lokanātha, (French, *The Art of the Pal Empire*, Pl. IV), and, at some distance, with that of Mañjuśrī (Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art*, Fig. 6, and further on with the image of Śyāmātārā, *ibid.*, Fig. 13, which is, but for the face, a debased example.)

In these images the connection between figure and aureole is brought about by the arms, the garment, by flower and jewel-devices. In the Buddha image the wire-like connections are partly shown without disguise. This and the tenuity of the figure, well modelled throughout, link it with the first three of the images mentioned.

The Sūrya image from Deulvadi (Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, Pl. LIX) which was found along with the dated (i.e. between 679-685) Sarvāṇī image, favours a sturdy physique for the human bodies. Still, whatever the physical type, it is transformed at this phase in such a manner that the entire vigour is concentrated in the chest. From there, the limbs, thoroughly malleable, seem to be suspended without much weight of their own. The moment of holding the breath, just after breathing in, is fixed in these images and keeps them in their seemingly weightless attitudes. (This could be noticed in images of the sixth century; Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 66). Prāṇāyāma (breath control) has as much to be taken into account when dealing with such images, as their positions and gestures. The "centre of gravity" in the chest has its effect virtually, i.e., with reference to the form-conception of the entire image. In the Sarvāṇī image, for instance, it appears as the seat of forces which are shot from there across the radiating eight arms and their weapons. The sloping shoulders which make the chest appear narrower than it is, do not detract from this effect.

In this respect the few metal images from Kurkihar and Nālandā belong to a type of inner discipline which is not recorded any longer in the images of Devapāla's reign. With a change in the inner experience its form-equivalent changes. The metal images from Deulvadi of the last quarter of the seventh century have been taken as relatively most closely connected with some of the metal images from Kurkihar and Nālandā. Fragments of stone images from Apsḥaḍ (see below) will also have to be considered. The images in question from Kurkihar and Nālandā may roughly be assigned to the eighth century.

Remarkable is the manner of showing the saṅghāṇī (upper garment) of the Buddha, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 1. It leaves the right shoulder and breast uncovered, and on the left shoulder it is gathered so that folds appear tucked beneath one another. This is indicated by a kind of bifurcation of the ridge-lines suggestive of folis. They sweep in diagonal

and shallow curves only as far as the waist-line, i. e., where the under-garment is closely tied around the body. The *saṅghāṭī* equally appears as tucked in, at the back at the height of the waist, and from this second point of gathering the folds fall more horizontally than from the shoulder, but in the same way. The great simplification of the foldless robe or of the unbroken fall of lengthening curves from the neck of preceding traditions has been given up for a novel handling. It does not only compel us to conclude that the material is meant to be shown as diaphanous, but it actually shows a diaphanous material tucked up in folds. While this is most successfully done across the thighs, it is continued in the mould, made by the garment, on the left proper of the figure. Pre-Gupta attempts (Maurya, Mathurā, Veṅgī and Gandhāra) at rendering the garment, are thus taken up once more, but with an economy in execution inherited from the Gupta phase.

Two more features of the rendering of the *saṅghāṭī* have to be mentioned. The manner in which the garment is switched upwards at the hem-line is but a lax recapitulation of the eastern Indian convention, so sharply delineated in the Sultanganj Buddha (Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XLI). On the right side however the garment is shown swinging sideways and looks like a pleated trumpet. Such detached and minor elaborations bear the stamp of crude reminiscences—also visible in the treatment of the *antaravāsaka* on the left—of fourth and fifth century accomplishments (Kramrisch, *Die figurale Plastik der Gupta Zeit*, W. B. K. K. A., vol. V, Fig. 7, 9, 10).

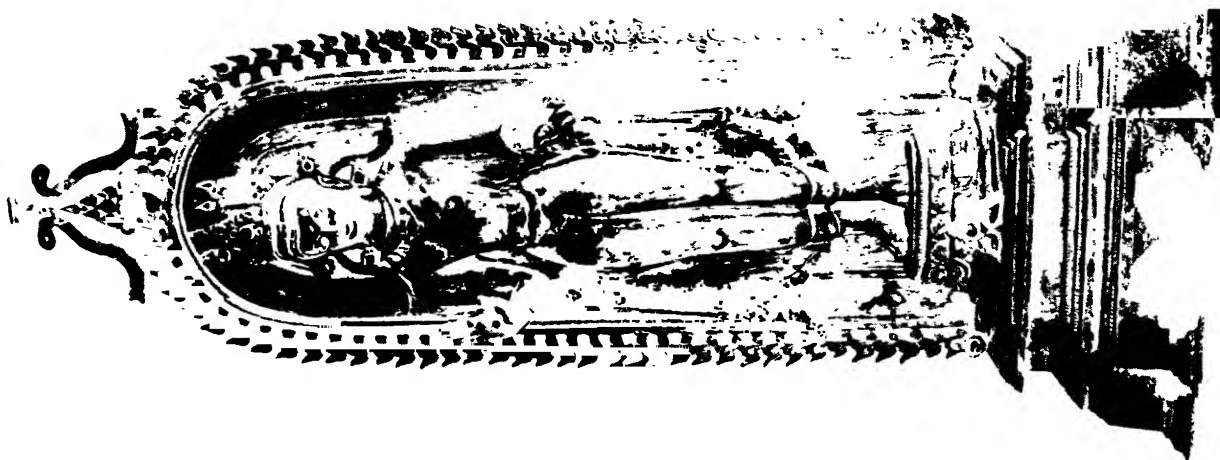
The mobility which is imparted to the garment also gives its peculiar character to the stance of the figure. There is no one great rhythm that surges all through the figure (Gupta images) nor is it all hemmed in and tight in fixed places allocated to highest modelling, as in later Pāla images (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3) but reed-like and alternating the movement sways forward or backward, and the joints, knee, hip and shoulder, are the places of commutation.

The Buddha with *bhūmiśparśa mudrā*, (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2) has an erect and slender torso, most malleable in treatment. It seems modelled, as it were, above breathing as its core. As far as these features go, this image is related to the group indicated above. The folds of the *saṅghāṭī*, moreover are deeply laid; they suggest a soft material and flow with an easy and unconventional movement across the body. This rendering of the folds, where they adhere to the torso, in fact, is worthy of note. Either the outer edge is displayed freely and like a padded band, or else, as is the case with the two folds following, they adhere to the body with a plastic calligraphy of metallic effectiveness, whereas the last layers are shuffled hard-edged and angular, one behind the other, in keeping with the pleated end of the robe thrown across the shoulder.

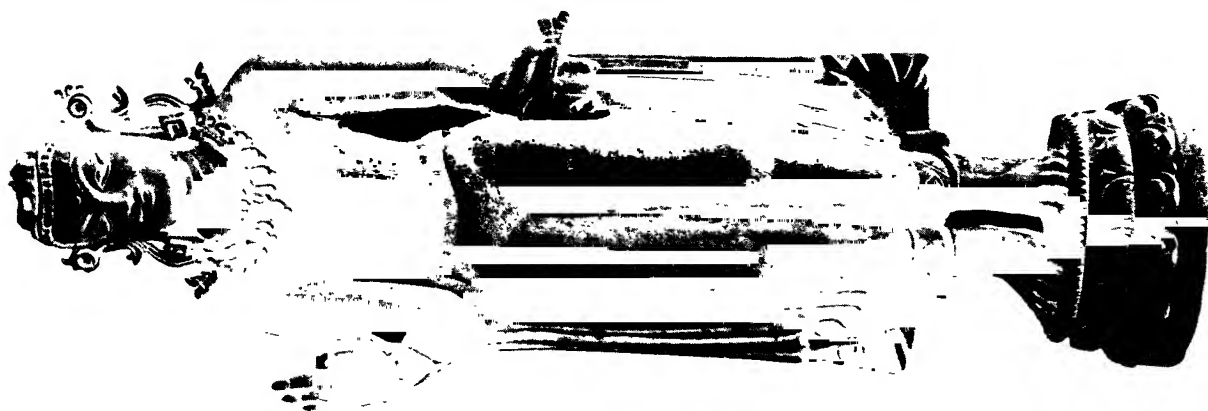
The treatment of the torso and that of the *saṅghāṭī*, where it clings to it, and their mutual relation are consistent among themselves. But they offer a considerable contrast, compared with the treatment of the arms. These are added to the body without being organically connected with it. They are affixed to the shoulders which they make square. The heavy club of the upper arm on the left seems fastened to the body by a loop of conventionalised folds. This "epaulette"-like arrangement enhances the breadth of the shoulders; it also occurs on other metal and stone images as part of the *saṅghāṭī* or the *uttariya*, (scarf) in case of Bodhisattva figures (for inst., Buddha from Kurkihar, V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1st ed., Fig. 128; Kramrisch, *Pāla and Sena Sculpture*, Fig. 28; both these images can be assigned to the early ninth century; *ibid.* Figs. 37, 42, 44, etc., are of later date). The incongruity in the treatment of trunk and limbs, and the heaviness of the latter brings this image nearer to those of the Devapāla phase. The image of Tārā (?) (Bernet-Kempers, *op. cit.*, Fig. 14, albeit with a sturdier build is related in treatment to that of the Buddha, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2, as far as the diaphanous ripples of the skirt and the soft modelling of the breasts are concerned. Consistently treated throughout, it does however not belong to the phase of transition.

The relative chronology of the metal images from Kurkihar and Nālandā prior to the Devapāla period is made clearer with the help of stone sculptures which have to be assigned to the pre-Pāla period, not only on stylistic grounds, but also supported by circumstantial evidence.

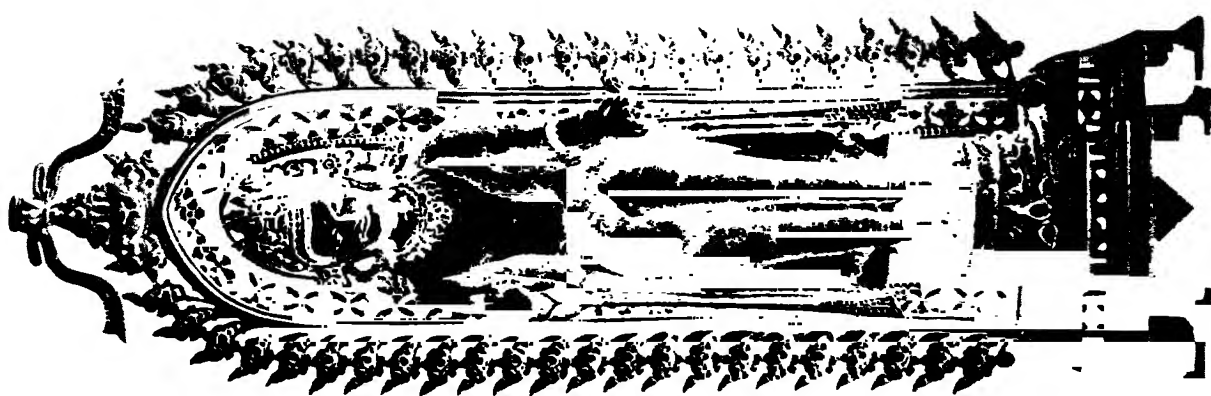
It has for its starting point the *Sarvāṇī* and *Sūrya* images from Deulvadi mentioned above, dated the one and the other also to be assigned to, the last quarter of the seventh century. Regarding stone images, some fragments and sculptures from Aphaṣṭ, Bihar (J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III., p. 200, inscription of Ādityasena) are assignable to a few years prior than the metal images of queen Prabhāvatī, i. e. to the early seventies of the seventh century A. D.; they are of high quality and have very distinctive features. These fragments were seen by me in 1930 still in situ, the one a Cakrapuruṣa, the other a Viṣṇu figure. They are published on Pls. 31 and 32 of the catalogue of Mr. N. M. Heeramaneck's collection of 'Early Indian Sculptures, Bronzes etc.,' New York, 1934, where their age is wrongly indicated (pp. 10, 11). The Viṣṇu figure



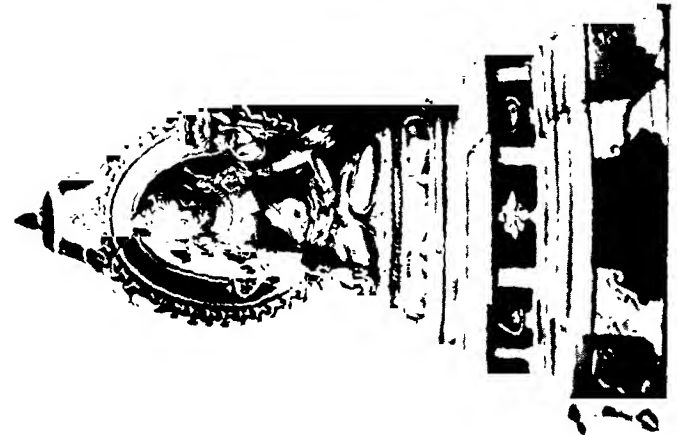
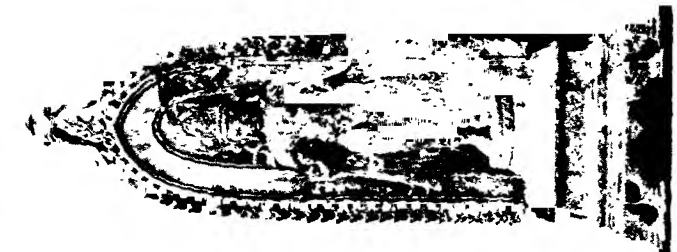
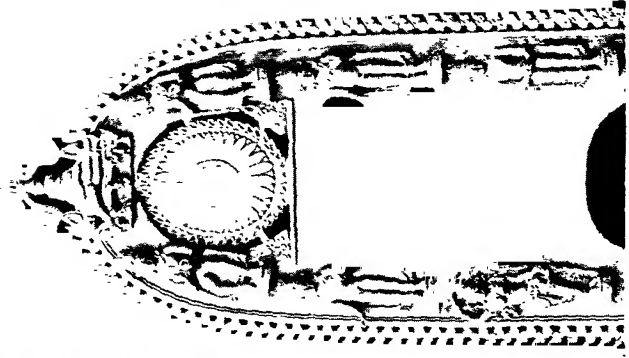
c. 1100 A.D.



c. 1000 A.D.



3



s related to the *Sūrya* from Deulvadi, as far as modelling goes and also in the manner in which chain ornaments or corkscrew curls are shown, i.e. an intricate dwelling upon the coherence of the short and distinctly shaped parts. But whatever the physical type suggested, that it is treated thoroughly malleably in stone or metal matters most. This Viṣṇu image, no doubt, is of the same family as that of Balarāma of Devapāla's reign, in Nālandā (French, op. cit., Pl. X). Only the accent of gravity seems to have passed lower down. (This is discussed further on). It seems to rest in equal parts in the loins and in the chest. Such slight but significant transformations are all that matter in the course of Pāla and Sena sculpture, where again towards the end, in the reign of Rāmapāla, the same type is relied upon while it is invested with one more and different note (R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, Pl. V., b, c.)

While the number of eastern Indian sculptures of the seventh and eighth centuries is yet too small to allow a more precise knowledge, negative features are of as much importance as the positive ones. In the case of less successful stone images of the (late seventh?) century (R. D. Banerji, Pl. VII, op. cit.) an inert mass, and in the case of metal images of the eighth (?) century a crinkled disorder of wire-like bits (Bernet Kempers, op. cit., Fig. 13) prevail. Qualities of matter, i.e. the massiveness of the stone, or the wire-possibilities of metal are stronger in such cases than the forming capacity.

No denominator in common, however, can be found for cast and expression of the faces of these images. The Gupta derivative and its eastern version form the base, but on this nucleus in common, the slightest variations produce different physiognomies. A wide range of expressions distinguishes the faces cast or carved within this one century and a half. This may be due to a richer and more immediate experience in comparison with Pāla physiognomies after Devapāla, when almost every generation of craftsmen leaves behind its typical and ceaselessly repeated type, mask-like in the end. Still, if yet we attempt to find, though not a feature in common yet one relatively widely valid amongst these varied faces, that distinguishes them from those of Devapāla's age, it is, that the weight of the face, whatever its shape or outline, seemingly rests in the height of the eyes or cheekbones, and not lower, just as the weight of the body seemingly rests in the height of the chest.

Nearer than any of these images to the Devapāla group of metal figures is that of Vāgīśvara (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 3). There is a relaxation in the modelling and the gravity appears no longer centred in the chest; it is diffused through the limbs of the figure and imparts its weight to every detail even of the ornate back of the throne. Hitherto the figures, irrespective of their reed-like swaying forward and backward, suspended as they appeared, were referable to the vertical, upheld by, while steeped in, their own inner life. Now this seems diffused throughout their appearance, and its display is spread over the vāhana or the flamboyant—and yet somehow stodgy—back of the throne with śiraścakra, etc. These help to lay out a power which inhabits not only the eyes, now almost always open, and with a hypnotic look, but also the many rounded forms of the stela each laden with energy. (For inst. the right hand in vitarka mudrā, or the lotus with the book, the tiger's head, the scrollwork of the 'makaras', around the halo, the scarves that curl away from the umbrella on top, etc.).

The eye in its treatment reveals the psychological process that led to the peculiar shape which it is now given. The upper eyelid droops in the centre; this, its intensified curve, is suggestive of the lowering, i.e., of the ever deeper sinking into the inner world. It distinguished the half closed eyes of some of the images prior to Devapāla (Pl. XXIX). This drooping of the middle of the upper eyelid, expressive of the sinking into the inner world, is maintained even when the eye opens. The carrying of the inner experience outward lays bare 'the fixed attention to the light within the head' (Yoga-Bhāṣya, III,1,32), with the pupil high up, so that much of the whiteness of the eye-ball is visible underneath it. It has been achieved by pulling down the lower lid. The white metal put over the eye-ball shows how intentional this effect was (cf. also Buddha from Jhewari and Manasā from N. Bengal, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Nos. 8147 and 9212.) The inner illumination is laid open, in the powerful glance.

b. Devapāla images.

The Balarāma from Kurkihar, of the ninth year of Devapāla, a stiff and cumbersome piece of work and not quite finished (see the upper left part above the serpent-hood, with the flames and the flying Devatā) is so closely, and with it all, so inefficiently allied to the Balarāma from Nālandā (French, op. cit., Pl. X), dated in the reign of Devapāla, that the latter has to be consulted as leading example.

So fully rounded is the modelling of this figure that its body and limbs appear as if inflated from inside. Swelled and tightened in large undulations the plastic content carries a new weightiness and as much of it rests in the loins as

resides in the chest. It makes the figure heavy with power, which is communicated to the eye of the devotee as it encompasses in simultaneous concentration, the image of the god.

The Avalokiteśvara (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2) belongs to the same phase; slender body and long limbs do not disguise the new poise distributed in knee, shoulder and hip joints.

Of the other images of this phase that of Śyāmātārā (Pl. XXX) has affinities with the Buddha (Pl. XXIX, Fig. 2) in the treatment of the body and *uttariya*, the latter somewhat hardened. The image may be of the earliest Devapāla period, while the crude image of Tārā standing (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 4) agrees more with Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 2, and may be assigned to the same phase as the latter, i. e., towards the end of Devapāla's rule.

To this latter phase of Devapāla's rule the standing Buddha image (Pl. XXXI, Figs. 1, 2) would have to be assigned. It has a nobler antecedent in the standing Buddha from Nālandā (French, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII); re: treatment of images of this phase, see Kramrisch, *op. cit.* p. 120). The image is remarkable for its *uṣṇiṣa*; pointed and beset with pointed locks, it emits a flame. But this is not the only instance of a metal image of Buddha from Kurkihar with a flame *uṣṇiṣa*. Moreover, the stone image from Kurkihar referred to on p. 78, is equally distinguished; later stone images as for inst. those of the two almost identical stelae from Tetrawan, Bihar, and Khulna, East Bengal, (Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, note to Fig. 43) have also a flame rising from the *uṣṇiṣa*. Of the metal images of the Buddha from Negapatam, S. India, 12th century, a large number have the flame which issues either from the *uṣṇiṣa* or else directly from the head (for inst., A. S. I. A. R. 1927-28, Pl. XXXVIII).

c. Later images.

The Buddha, Pl. XXXI, fig. 3, stands midway in treatment between Pl. XXXI, Fig. 1 and one of the stone images dated in the year 3 of Śīrapāla (Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, Fig. 10). The images of Rājyapāla's rule have the features of their age and the three made by one workman (Pl. XXXII) are equally indifferent in form and finish.

While no great variance could be noticed in the form of metal or stone figures of one phase, the backs of the stelae of metal images differ considerably from those in stone. Round modelling as well as oblique cut are used in profusion to yield the richest lustre contrasting with the many and large intervals between. The pre-Devapāla phase favours the larger intervals and the metal parts sparingly used; their effect is subordinate to that of the main figure. The Devapāla images are more profuse, they almost revel in the detailed metal work of the background and not always it is mastered (Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1). The type persists in the tenth century. Afterwards, in the case of metal images, the motif of the back of the throne, which laboured though it was, had never been employed to the exclusion of other types, is given up for a unified shape suggestive of the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, and freed from the many architectonic or symbolical devices (Pl. XXX, Fig. 1; XXXIV, Fig. 2). This as a whole, may either be perforated and elaborate with a jeweller's taste (Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 3) or else it may serve as a ground on which single figures and scenes can be applied (Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 5). The unification of the back of the image into one gleaming metallic surface, whether plain or ornate,—though not the only type,—seems to be leading. In other images (Rangpur) where most of the back is cut away around the main figure, differently in various images, the outline yet remains unbroken, as it had been in many instances in the pre-Devapāla phase. Its sides, however, are quite straight and there is as much rigour in them as in the figures which they surround.

The crowned Buddha, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 2, appears to be anterior to the dated image, Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 1, by half a century approximately. There is largeness in its convention and none of that constructed outline and unfeeling modelling of the dated examples. The obtrusive and dry pleating of the folds at the end of the *saṅghāṭī* (contrast the freer movement, whatever the technical treatment, as in Pls. XXXIX, Fig. 1; XXXI, Fig. 1) itself, as a motif, nearer to the Gupta idiom of the Sultanganj image, points into the future (Pl. XXXV), where the folds of the end of the dhoti appear as a part-mechanism in the execution of the whole. The *uttariya* in this latter case need not be compared with the treatment of the robe where it clings to the torso of Figs. 1 and 2, Pl. XXIX, in order to see that it is not as a transparent garment but as a welcome motif for the metal-smith's skill, that parallel ridges,—note the 'epaulette'—with engraved patterns between them are applied to a now once more, (cf. Kramrisch, *op. cit.* p. 124) malleable modelling. This image of Avalokiteśvara can not be much anterior to the Khasarapaṇa image, dated in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla (Banerji, *op. cit.* Pl. V, b). Of this last creative phase, is also the 'Bhairava', Pl. XXXVI; (another metal image of 'Bhairava' from Rangpur, Indian Museum, Calcutta, N. S., No. 2252,



The dated sculptures known hitherto are listed below. The dates are calculated on the basis of H. C. Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, p. 384.*

1. Sculptures from Aphaṣṭ, Bihar	Heeramanek Collection, Catalogue, Pls. 31, 32	c. 670 A. D.
2. Sarvāṇī, from Deulvadi, Tippera Dist.; Dacca Museum	N. K. Bhattasali, <i>Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum</i> , p. 203, Pl. LXX	c. 679-685
3. Sūrya, at Candimuda; from Deulvadi	ibid., p. 172, Pl. LIX.	c. 679-685.
4. Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva from Bodh-gayā, Indian Museum, Calcutta; 26th year of Dharmapāla	R. D. Banerji, <i>Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture</i> , Pl. I, a	c. 795.
5. Balarāma from Kurkihar, Patna Museum; 9th year of Devapāla	Pl. XXVIII, Fig. 1	c. 824.
6-8. Balarāma, Kuvera, Hārītī from Nālandā, Nālandā Museum; reign of Devapāla	Banerji, Pl. I, b; French, <i>The Art of the Pal Empire</i> , Pls. X-XII	c. 815-854
9. Śyāmā Tārā from Hilsa, Bihar; Patna Museum; 35th year of Devapāla	French, op. cit, Pl. IX; Kramrisch, <i>Pāla and Sena Sculpture</i> , Fig 6	c. 850
10-11. 2 images of Buddha from Bihar, (Uddāṇḍapura) Indian Museum, Calcutta; 3rd year of Śūrapāla	B., Pl. II, a, b.	c. 856-859
12. Buddha taming the elephant, Bihar; Calcutta Museum, 4th year of Mahendrapāla (Gurjara Pratihāra)	B., Pl. III, c	c. 900
13. Daśavatāra on a stone slab, Rāmgayā; 8th year of Mahendrapāla	B., P. 22	after 900
14. Buddha at Guneriya 9th year of Mahendrapāla	B., Pl. III, d.	after 900
15. Khadiravānī (Tārā) Itkhauri, Hazaribagh; 9th year of Mahendrapāla	B., Pl. IV, b; Fr., Pl. XX.	after 900
16. Pārvatī with Kārttikeya, Uddāṇḍapura, Bihar; Baṅgiya Sahitya Pariṣad, Calcutta; 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla	B., Pl. III, a, b.	c. 911
17-19. 2 images of a Goddess, and Umā Maheśvara, from Kurkihar, Patna Museum; 32nd year of Rājyapāla	Pl. XXXII	c. 935 (?)*
20. Pedestal, from Kurkihar, Patna Museum; reign of Rājyapāla	Pl. XXXIV, Fig. I.	c. 911-935
21. Vāgiśvarī from Nālandā; Calcutta Museum; 1st year of Gopālā II	B., Pl. IV, a.	c. 935
22. Pedestal at Bodhgayā; reign of Gopālā II	B., Pl. IV, c.	c. 935-992
23. Viṣṇu from Baghaura; collection of Bara Thakur of Tripura; 4th year of Mahipāla	Fr., Pl. XXVII; B., Pl. IV, d.	c. 996
24. Doorjamb from Nālandā, Indian Museum; 11th year of Mahipāla	B., Pl. VI a.	c. 1003
25. Buddha, Bodhgayā; 11th year of Mahipāla	B., p. 22.	c. 1003
26. Cundā, Kurkihar, Patna Museum; 31st year of Mahipāla	Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 2	c. 1023
27. Legs and pedestal of Buddhist image, from Benares, Sārnāth Museum	Fr., p. XV.	c. 1026

* The absolute chronology of the Pālas varies with different authors. Rājyapāla acc. to H. C. Ray, ruled from c. 911—935 (cf. p. 72).

28.	Crowned Buddha, Kurkihar, Patna Museum ; 3rd year of Vīgrahapāla III	Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1	...	...	c. 1058
29.	Buddha from Bihar, Indian Museum ; 13th year of Vīgrahapāla III	B., Pl. V, a.	...	...	c. 1068
30.	Crowned Buddha from Kurkihar, Patna Museum; 19th year of Vīgrahapāla III	Pl. XXX IV, Fig. 3	...	...	c. 1074
31.	Khadiravanī Tārā, Tetrawan ; Indian Museum, Calcutta ; 2nd year of Rāmapāla	B., Pl. V, c.	...	...	c. 1086
32.	Khasarapaṇa, Candimau ; Calcutta Museum ; 42nd year of Rāmapāla	B., Pl. V, b.	...	...	c. 1126
33.	Pārvatī, Patna Museum ; 3rd year of Madanapāla	B., Pl. VI, b.	...	...	c. 1133
34.	Pedestal, Jaynagar, Monghyr ; 14th year of Madanapāla	B., p. 23	...	...	c. 1144
35.	Pārvatī, Gayā, Viṣṇupada Temple ; 14th year of Govindapāla	B., Pl. VI, c.	...	...	c. 1164
36.	Caṇḍī, Dacca ; 3rd year of Lakṣmaṇasena	B., Pl. VI, d.	...	...	c. 1188

ILLUSTRATIONS OF METAL IMAGES FROM KURKI HAR.

Pl.	Fig.	Description	Total Height.
Pl. XXVIII.			
	Fig. 1.	Balarāma, dated 9th year of Devapāla	1' 2½"
	Fig. 2.	Avalokiteśvara	2' 4½"
	Fig. 3.	Vāgīśvara	6 15/16"
	Fig. 4.	Tārā	11½"
Pl. XXIX.			
	Fig. 1.	Buddha	1' 5½"
	Fig. 2.	Buddha	1' ½"
Pl. XXX.		Tārā	11½"
Pl. XXXI.			
	Fig. 1.	Buddha	3' 11½"
	Fig. 2.	Head of Fig. 1	
	Fig. 3.	Buddha	3' 3½"
Pl. XXXII.			
	Fig. 1.	Goddess, dated in the 32nd year of Rājyapāla	8½"
	Fig. 2.	Umā-Maheśvara, dated in the 32nd year of Rājyapāla	7"
	Fig. 3.	Goddess, dated in the 32nd year of Rājyapāla	7½"
Pl. XXXIII.			
	Fig. 1.	Buddha, dated in the 3rd year of Vīgrahapāla	1' 11½"
	Fig. 2.	Buddha	1' 2½"
	Fig. 3.	Buddha	2' 2"
Pl. XXXIV.			
	Fig. 1.	Pedestal with Nāgas, dated in the reign of Rājyapāla	7½"
	Fig. 2.	Cundā, dated in the 31 year of Mahipāla	3 7/8"
	Fig. 3.	Buddha, dated in the 19th year of Vīgrahapāla	1' 10"
	Fig. 4.	Jaṭamukha Lokeśvara	1' 1"
	Fig. 5.	Prabhāmaṇḍala of Buddha	2' 1½"
Pl. XXXIV.		Lokanātha	9 3/16"
Pl. XXXVI.		'Bhairava'	3 7/8"



A BRONZE VESSEL FROM CENTRAL ASIA

By W. NORMAN BROWN

A bronze vessel, apparently from Central Asia, was acquired by the Pennsylvania Museum of Art from the Heeramanek Galleries in 1931¹. The piece had previously been published by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy as "An Indian Bronze Bowl"², but a number of points which I shall mention induce me to believe that it comes from Turkestan.

The vessel is shaped like a shallow bowl, being 13.4 cm in width and 4 cm in depth (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 2), but it is very tippy, while around the inside of the top is a narrow lip that would interfere with drinking or pouring, and it could hardly have been used for holding any liquid. It is therefore unlikely that it was made to be a bowl. The outside is copiously engraved (Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 1) and the inside contains a small engraved medallion (see line drawing p. 86). The characteristic features of the design on the outside are the seven medallions containing a lion and six small boys or *Yakṣas*, the acanthoid decorative filler between the medallions, and the border of swans with lotus rhizome. The inside decoration consists of two swans with intertwined necks, holding in their beaks lotus stalks. The *Yakṣa* boys are winged and naked except for scarves. Three of the six are musicians with drums and lute (*viṇā*), one is drinking from a cup, and two are dancing, evidently the scene is one of jollity, as frequently illustrated in Indian scenes of *Yakṣas*. The six are in three pairs, with the members of each pair being face to face.

When Dr. Coomaraswamy published this bowl, he was not aware that it had come to America with a group of Chinese objects³, and that it was actually enclosed in a modern Chinese box especially made for it. Hence, on noticing its many Indian features, he tentatively suggested a provenance of western India. All the separate

1. The Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin, vol. 27, no. 148, April, 1932, pp. 136, 138.

2. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. 6, part 5, 1930, pp. 247-249.

3. Letter to me dated June 20, 1931.

major elements of the design can be duplicated in Indian art, including the vegetation motifs, the dancing boys, the swans with intertwined necks, the musical instruments, and even some of the minor elements, such as the slightly protruding eye of the human figures.¹ But the entire composition has no known close parallel in India, and at least one minor element, namely, the treatment of the boys' hair, seems unusual for India. On the contrary, the larger composition can be excellently paralleled in objects discovered in Turkestan, where Indian influence has been very strong, and the treatment of the boys' hair is also characteristic there.

Most of the separate elements are already known in Central Asia. The naked Yākṣa boys appear, for example, in a painting on canvas brought back from Yār-Khoto near Turfan, and now kept in the Museum fuer Voelkerkunde, Berlin, where it is No. (Turfan) II, Y, 69. This is an excellent picture of the goddess Hārītī surrounded by playing children, and done on a fairly large scale—the canvas measures 35 cm. by 50 cm.² The fundamental motivation of the scene is, of course, Indian, but the costume of Hārītī and the obliquity of the human eyes, as pointed out by the late Dr. von Le Coq, are Uigur, and he therefore dates it not earlier than the beginning of the seventh century. The hair of the boys is like that of our bronze. The acanthoid motif, known in many parts of India and in Persia, appears in Central Asia³. The slightly protruding eye appears at Bāmiyān, probably during the fifth and sixth century,⁴ and at Dandan Uiliq before the eighth century.⁵ The hair of the boys and the wings appear at the Mirān site,⁶ and so too the swans holding foliage in their beaks⁷.

But the strongest evidence of a Central Asian provenance for our bronze lies in the decoration of a painted (or lacquered or varnished) wooden box now kept at the Louvre, Paris, brought back from Soubachi near Koutchar (Turkestan) by the Pelliot Mission in 1906—09, and illustrated on Pl. XXXVIII of this article from

1. In the western Indian school of miniature painting, flourishing from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, the protruding eye is very common. Cf. in 'Eastern Art', vol. II, 1930, pp. 171, 237; and in my 'Story of Kālaka' (Washington, 1933), pp. 16 f.

2. For a reproduction and discussion, see A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art...*, 1917, frontispiece, and pp. 273-275.

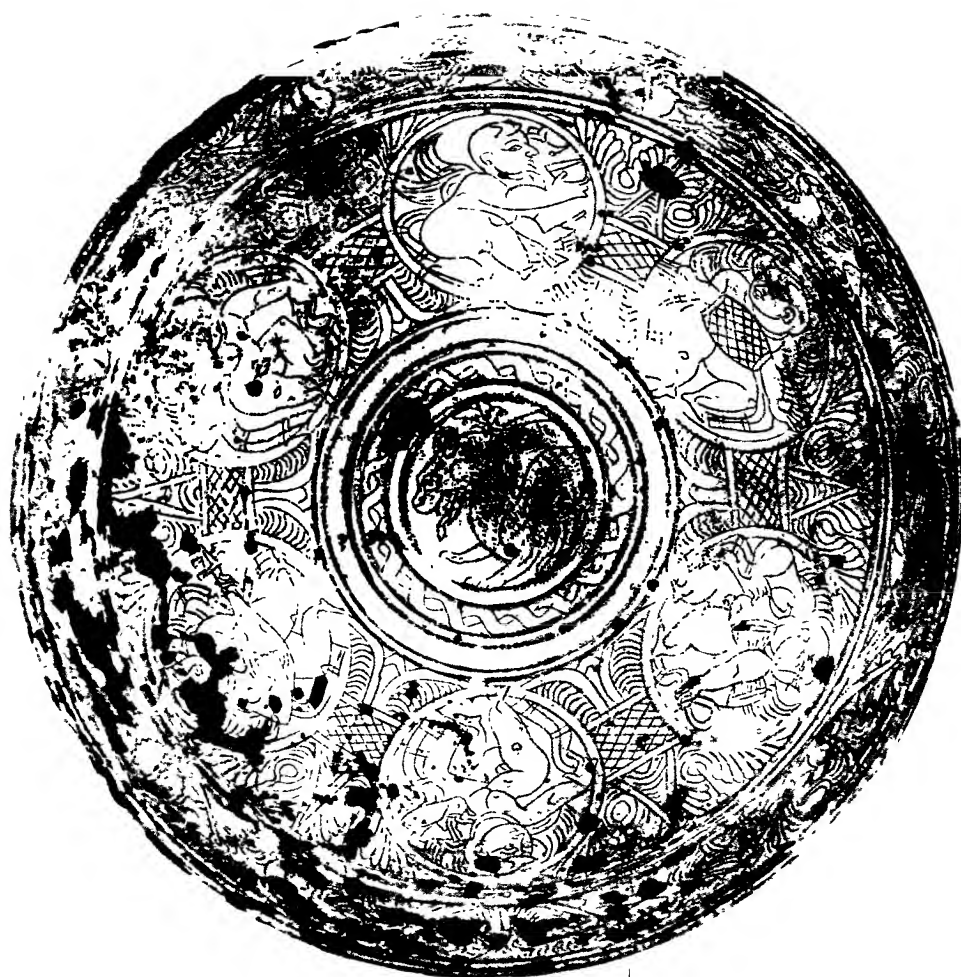
3. O. Siren, *Yü Kang Caves*, pl. XL.

4. Godard, et Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, 1928, vol. 2, pls. XV, XVI (cf. pl. XXV), and pp. 17, 18, 29.

5. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pls. LX, LXIV.

6. A. Stein, *Serindia*, 1921, vol. 1, figure 134 (facing p. 517); vol. 4, pl. XLI.

7. A. Stein, *Serindia*, vol. 4, pl. CXLVI.



photographs kindly supplied by the management of the French Government Museums.¹ This small box is in an excellent state of preservation, because, unlike the other boxes found by that expedition, it was not buried directly in the earth, but had the double protection of a hide and a pottery receptacle. There is a small area of decomposition on the lid, which has been slightly patched. The colour of the box is predominantly bright red, with leaves and figures in green, the outlines in yellow. In the centre top of the lid and at four places on the sides are the remains of leather straps, perhaps meant for hanging. In the design we have the grouping of seven medallions (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 1) as in our bronze, although the central one is a flower, presumably a conventionalised lotus.² In the six outer medallions are dwarf, or boy, *Yakṣas*, wearing garments that look like a kind of cloak, with one of the boys playing a harp and another a drum, a third holding a crooked stick like the "hockey sticks" of the Turfan canvas painting, a fourth clapping his hands, and the remaining two dancing. The *Yakṣas* lack the wings appearing on our bronze, and in addition to the forelock of hair they wear curls on the temples. The swans appear, as on our bronze, but not with a lotus rhizome. The acanthoid vegetation ornament is used on the side of the box (Pl. XXXVIII, Fig. 2). All told, the parallelism is very close, and it seems indicated that the bronze and the Louvre box come from the same milieu. The Louvre piece is dated by Professor Pelliot at "about 800 A. D." and a guess of the same date seems reasonable for the Pennsylvania Museum piece.

The Louvre box may also possibly furnish a clue to the purpose of the bronze. Professor Pelliot says that the box was used as a repository for a monk's ashes. Our bronze, so hard to consider as a "bowl", may be only the lid to a box, of different shape from the Louvre box but possibly intended for a similar use. The suggestion is plausible but not certain.

It is also possible that both the Louvre box and the Pennsylvania Museum bronze should be related to the Turfan cloth painting for an explanation of the cult significance of the design. The Turfan piece is definitely associated with the goddess *Hārītī*, formerly a demoness who was converted from the eating of children to becoming their patron deity. Her worship is very common in Buddhist

1. My attention was first called to the Louvre piece by Miss Helen E. Fernald, of the University Museum, Philadelphia, who in 1928 had noticed its general design and sketched one of the *Yakṣas*. In the summer of 1932, Miss Ethel C. Elkins, of the Pennsylvania Museum, while in Paris, examined the object closely for me and talked to Professor Pelliot.

2. For a hemispherical silver bowl with medallions containing heads, said to be from "Northern India", see O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, 1905, No. 191, pp. 127-128, pls. XXVII, XXVIII.

countries¹, and representations of her and her children are auspicious. Here again the suggestion is plausible, but without finality.

Our bronze is rare, not only for Central Asia but also for India. Engraved metal pieces from those regions are few for so early a period. In its design and vigorous execution it is entirely Indian, but from the Indian point of view it is a "colonial", constituting an additional bit of testimony to the well-known penetration of Central Asia by Indian, chiefly Buddhist, culture.



ILLUSTRATIONS.

Pl. XXXVII

Fig. 1. Central Asian Bronze Vessel in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art...outside.

Fig. 2. Central Asian Bronze Vessel in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art...side.

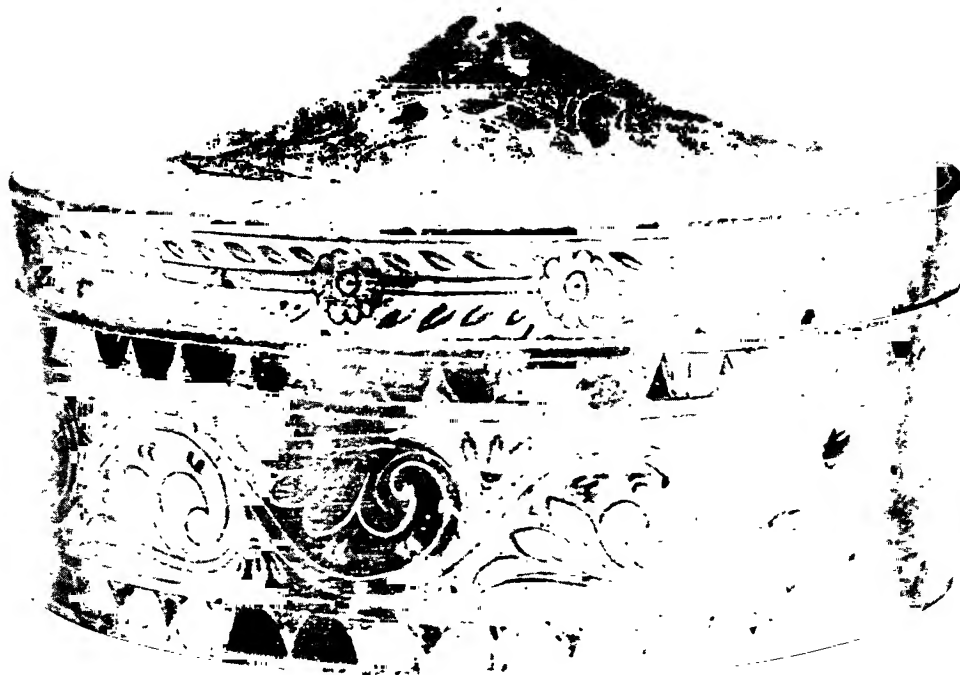
Pl. XXXVIII

Fig. 1. Central Asian Painted Wooden Box in the Louvre...top.

Fig. 2. Central Asian Painted Wooden Box in the Louvre...side.

above : Central Asian Bronze Vessel in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art...drawing of design on inside.

1. Foucher, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff.



SOME ASPECTS OF STŪPA SYMBOLISM

BY ANAGARIKA BRAHMACARI GOVINDA

I. Origin of the Buddhist stūpa.

Wherever Buddhism has flourished it has left its visible traces in form of monuments which have their origin in the tumuli of prehistoric times. These tumuli were massive structures in form of hemispheres, cones, pyramids and similar plain stereometrical bodies which contained the remains of heroes, saints, kings or other great personalities.

In India the more or less hemispheric form, as we know it from the first Buddhist stūpas or caityas (p. 95 Figs. 1, 3), has been the prevalent type of such monuments. That they were erected for great rulers (cakkavatti) in pre-Buddhistic times according to the oldest Aryan tradition—perhaps in connection with the prehistoric nordic Kurgans—is to be seen from Dīgha Nikāya XVI, 5, where the Buddha mentions in his conversation with Ānanda that “at the four cross roads they erect a cairn to the king of kings.”

The Buddha proclaims that the same honour should be given to the Awakened Ones and to their true disciples.

“As they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of the Tathāgata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes, or paints, or make salutation there or become in its presence calm in heart that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.

The men, Ānanda, worthy of a cairn, are four in number. Which are the four ?

A Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn. One awakened for himself alone (Pacceka-Buddha) is worthy of a cairn, a true hearer of the Tathāgata is worthy of a cairn.

And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One (or 'a Pacceka Buddha,' etc.) worthy of a cairn ?

At the thought, Ānanda, 'This is the cairn of that Able Awakened One' (or 'This is the cairn of that Pacceka Buddha' etc), the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they had calmed and satisfied their hearts, they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One (or a Pacceka Buddha, etc.,) is worthy of a cairn." (Transl. by Rhys Davids in Vol. II., Dialogues of the Buddha.)

In this way the Buddha gives a new meaning to the stūpas. They are no longer intended to be the abodes of souls or spirits or mere receptacles of magic substances as in prehistoric times, but memorials which should remind later generations of the great pioneers of humanity and inspire them to follow their example, to encourage them in their own struggle for liberation and to make their hearts "calm and happy".

Thus the caitya is elevated from the service of the dead to the service of the living. Its meaning does not remain centered in the particular relics, or the particular personality to whom those remains belonged, but in that higher actuality which was realized by the Holy Ones. The Buddha does not say 'a stūpa should be erected for me or for my disciples' but 'for the Awakened Ones and their disciples'.

Thus the stūpas did not become objects of hero worship but symbols of nibbāna, of illumination.

In this connection it may be mentioned that some of the old stūpas were covered from top to bottom with small triangular recesses for oil lamps, so that the whole monument could be illuminated and appeared as one huge radiating dome of light.

The universality of the principle of enlightenment (bodhi) and the boundlessness of the Enlightened One who has surpassed the limits of individuality, who is deep and immeasurable like the ocean ;—this universality is expressed in the cosmic symbolism of the stūpa. Its main element, the cupola, in fact, imitates the infinite dome of the all embracing sky which includes both, destruction and creation, death and rebirth. The early Buddhists expressed these principles by comparing the cupola of the stūpa to the water bubble and the egg (aṇḍa) as the symbol of latent creative power (as such 'aṇḍa' was also a synonym for the universe in the oldest Indian mythology), while the kiosk or altar-like structure (harmikā) which rose on the summit of the cupola (p. 95), symbolised the sanctuary

enthroned above the world, beyond death and rebirth. Nepalese stūpas, which in many respects have preserved archaic features, decorate the harmikā with painted human eyes, thus suggesting a human figure in the posture of meditation hidden in the stūpa : the crossed legs in the base, the body up to the shoulders in the hemisphere, the head in the harmikā. This also corresponds to the psycho-physiological doctrine of the cakras or centres of psychic force, which are located one above the other in the human body and through which consciousness develops in ascending order : from the experience of material sense-objects through that of the immaterial worlds of pure mental objects, up to the supramundane consciousness (lokuttara-cittaṃ) of enlightenment which has its base in the crown cakra of the head (sahasrara cakra). The latter would correspond to the harmikā.

The symbolism proceeds in two lines, the cosmic and the psychic ; they find their synthesis in the psycho-cosmic image of Man, in which the physical elements and laws of nature and their spiritual counterparts, the different world planes (loka) and their corresponding stages of consciousness (lokiya cittāni) as well as that what transcends them (lokuttara-cittaṃ) have their place. That such ideas go back to the earliest periods of Indian history can be seen from representations of the Jain world system in the shape of a human figure.

The altar-shaped harmikā on the summit of the cupola was crowned by one or more honorific umbrellas of stone and served, in accordance with its symbolical importance, as a receptacle of relics ; in pre-Buddhistic times these were buried most probably in or under the massive and more or less flattened stone hemisphere or its (round) terrace-like base if such a one existed. The resemblance of the harmikā to a sacrificial altar is perhaps not unintentional, because the Holy One, instead of sacrificing other beings, sacrifices himself to the world. As the Buddha teaches : There is only one sacrifice which is of real value, the sacrifice of our own desires, our own "self".¹ The ultimate form of such a sacrifice is that of a Bodhisattva who renounces even nirvāṇa until he has helped his fellow-beings to find the path of liberation.

From the standpoint of the sacrificial alter also, the later idea, which compares the harmikā with the element of fire, gets a new significance. Even

1. In the Kūṭadanta Sutta, Dīghanikāya I, 5, the Buddha discusses the value of sacrifice with a Brahmin who holds the view that there can not be religion without sacrifice. The Buddha does not deny this, but while rejecting the bloody Brahmanical sacrifices he shows in their place a number of higher sacrifices, each better than the previous one, and finally he explains the best and highest of all, the sacrifice of one's own selfish passions (*āśava*) in the attainment of sainthood. "This, O Brahmin, is a sacrifice less difficult and less troublesome, of greater fruit and greater advantage than the previous sacrifices. And there is no sacrifice man can celebrate, O Brahmin, higher and sweeter than this."

the eyes on the harmikā of Nepalese stūpas fit into this symbolism, because according to the Tantras, fire (agni) corresponds to the eye (faculty of vision, also of inner vision).

The stūpas were surrounded by great stone fences (vedikā) originally made of wood, as their architectural character indicates, separating the sacred place from the profane world. Most of them were decorated with auspicious signs in order to ward off evil influences and to prepare the minds of the worshippers before entering the sanctuary. Four beautifully carved gates, (torāṇa), the climax of the decorations of the fence, opened towards the four quarters of the world, emphasizing the universal spirit of the Buddha Dharma, which invites all beings with the call : 'come and see !' The inner space, between the fence and the stūpa, and the circular terrace (medhi) at the basis of the cupola were used as pradakṣinā patha for ritualistic circumambulation in the direction of the sun's course. The orientation of the gates equally corresponds to the sun's course, to sunrise, zenith, sunset and nadir. As the sun illuminates the physical world, so does the Buddha illuminate the spiritual world. The eastern torāṇa represents his birth (buddha-jati), the southern his enlightenment (sambodhi), the western his 'setting in motion the wheel of the Law' (dhammacakkapavattana) or the proclamation of his doctrine, and the northern his final liberation (parinibbāna).

The entrances were built in such a way that they appear in the ground-plan as the four arms of a svastika (p. 95, Fig. 2), which has its centre in the relic shrine on the top of the hemisphere in other words : in place of the cosmic centre, which according to ancient Indian ideas, was mount Meru with the tree of divine life and of knowledge (in Buddhism the Bodhi tree), there stood the Buddha, the Fully Enlightened One, who realized that knowledge in his own life.

II. Stages in the development of the stūpa in India and Ceylon.

It is interesting to see how closely the architectural development follows the spiritual growth of the Buddha Dharma. The early schools of Buddhism are mainly realistic. They are still under the influence of the historical personality of the Buddha. The fact that he lived in this world, as a human being and attained his aim in this earthly life, is still in the foreground and urges them to imitate his career. Their mind is directed on the practical fulfilment of his precepts and the monastic rules as given by his first disciples. The Vinaya stands in the centre of their attention ; to them the life here is more important than the life to come, the empirical world more actual than the worlds beyond, the objects of perception have comparatively more reality than the perceiving subject : concentration and pacification of the mind are the highest virtues.

The original elements of the stūpa speak the same language if we analyse them from the psychological point of view. The ground-plan and starting principle of the stūpa is the circle, the symbol of concentration. As a three-dimensional form the stūpa is essentially a hemisphere ; it represents the principle of concentration in a higher dimension which does not only co-ordinate the forces of one plane but creates an equilibrium of all the forces concerned, a complete relaxation of tension, the harmony of coming to rest within oneself. Every point of the surface is equally related to the centre, gets its meaning and its importance from there, immune against external influences or disturbances, combining concentration and restfulness.

The earliest stūpas did not attain the shape of a perfect hemisphere but rather of a spheric calotte (p. 95, Fig. I) which, together with the cubic harmikā structure on its crown, produced an earth-drawn effect. The cube by virtue of its own inherent principle of resistance, inertia or heaviness deprives the spheric contour of its abstract or transcendental effect, just as the early Buddhists rejected transcendental problems and metaphysical speculations, contenting themselves with the empirical world. But this was not a narrow or materialistic contentment. According to the Buddha's teaching, the empirical world does not denote a constant factor but something that grows and expands its limits according to the growth of our mind and experience so that even what we call metaphysical may come into the range of the physical and empirical. The higher jhānas for instance, and the worlds corresponding to them are trans-

cendental only to those who have not experienced them. For the Buddha they are part of the empirical world. His anti-metaphysical attitude is not a negation of higher realities but, quite on the contrary, an affirmation of the possibility to attain them, which would be precluded if people would content themselves with intellectual definitions and speculations.

This also shows the limits of rationalism, which has been declared the main feature of the early Buddhists by misinterpretation of their realistic and empiric tendencies. They accepted 'ratio' as a means of expression or an approach to the Dharma but never as the ultimate principle for the attainment of enlightenment.

This we have to keep in mind if we call the archaic type of stūpas realistic, empirical or earth-drawn : specially the last term is well to be distinguished from earth-bound. All these terms are to be regarded as synonyms of experience, as opposed to speculation, transcendentalism, philosophic idealism, etc. The architectural relationship to the earth corresponds exactly to the spiritual connection of the Buddhist with the earth as the foundation of his experience, as the firm ground on which, ever conscious, the structure of his life and thought is erected.

While in other religions heaven or the life to come form the centre of gravity, Buddhism has re-installed the life here in its legitimate rights. Man creates his own hells and his own heavens. Why then to wait? Why should one not begin right now to bring down the heaven into this life here? Thus the true Buddhist stands with both his feet firmly planted on the earth, without a glance towards heavenly rewards and delights, solely bent upon liberation.

The bhūmisparśa-mudrā, the gesture of touching the ground which has become one of the characteristic features of Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha (and this not without reason) is the iconographical counterpart of the archaic ('historical') type of the stūpa and the most perfect expression of 'this-sidedness' or earthliness in a new and higher sense.

Those schools which centered round the tradition of the historical Buddha naturally preserved the archaic type of the stūpa ; not only on account of their conservatism, but mainly because this type of architecture was the most adequate expression of their mentality and their religious ideal.

It is not surprising that Ceylon as the country of Vinaya and as the home of one of the orthodox schools of early Buddhism has almost perfectly preserved the original shape of the stūpa. The monumental dāgobas of Anuradhapura

for instance (pp. 96, 97), which were built in the period between the third century B. C. and the third century A.D., and even those of Polonnaruva, which are as late as the twelfth century A.D., (p. 98, Fig. 1) do not essentially differ from their Indian prototypes, in Sanchi and Barhut. The cupola has retained its dominating importance in the shape of a plain hemisphere : the harmikā in some cases is even decorated in the old Indian fashion, imitating the structure of a railing (vedikā), which originally surrounded the altar-like relic shrine. But the honorific umbrellas on top of it have changed into a more architectural form. They appear as an elongated cone with a number of horizontal notches, or rings, progressively diminishing towards the summit.

It seems that the idea of the honorific umbrellas, which were held parallel one above the other as the insignia of royalty, had been fused with the idea of the tree of life on the summit of mount Meru or the tree of enlightenment which stands in the corresponding centre of the Buddhist world. In fact, the latter idea seems to have overgrown finally the first one, for in later times the honorific umbrella was actually fixed above the cone, thus showing that the cone was not regarded as a set of umbrellas. Furthermore it is explained in later scriptures that the different strata of the cone correspond to certain psychic faculties or stages of consciousness on the way to enlightenment and to their respective world-planes. This goes well with the symbol of the world-tree on the axis of the universe, representing the higher worlds which spread one above the other in innumerable planes beyond the summit of the sacred Meru like the branches of a gigantic tree.

The relation between the hemisphere and the socle has become closer. The substructure is no longer sharply separated from the cupola so as to form a terrace for circumambulation, but it is composed of several (generally three) projecting rings, each a little narrower than the lower one. In this way the continuity of the general outline of the stūpa is not all at once interrupted, but the dynamic power of the main curve is gradually broken in the 'cascades' of the socle and finally arrested in the basic step. The basis has lost its independent importance and has become part of the greater body of the dome.

Railings (vedikā) of the Sanchi type have not been preserved in Ceylon, though there was a kind of an enclosure or demarcation of the sacred place around the monument serving as circumambulatory path (pradakṣiṇā patha). The oldest stūpa of Ceylon, the Thūpārāma dāgoba, which goes back to the times of Aśoka (272—232 B. C.) has its pradakṣiṇā patha on an elevated round

platform which, together with the monument seems to have been protected by a roof. There are still two concentric rows of stone pillars, the inner ones higher than the outer ones, so that there can be hardly any doubt about their function. Even nowadays we can find 'roofed' dāgobas in Ceylon, for instance at Danbadeniya (westward from Polgahawela) and Gadaladeniya near Kandy. But in all these cases the dāgobas are of small dimensions. The Thūpārāma dāgoba too, according to the proportions of the stone pillars, must have been much smaller originally, and we can not take its present shape as representative of the oldest stūpa architecture in Ceylon.

The platforms of the other old stūpas at Anuradhapura, like Mirisveti, Ruvanveli, Jetavana, Abhayagiri etc. (which are to be dated from the second to the first century B. C.) were quadrangular, the sides corresponding to the four chief points of the compass as in the case of the toraṇas. But in place of the latter there were four small shrines or altars annexed to the base of the dāgoba. These shrines are also to be found at the main dāgobas of Polonnaruwa.

The modern Sinhalese dāgoba (p. 98, Fig. 2) on the whole remains true to the original character of its predecessors. The several elements of the structure, however, enter into more intimate relations with one another and merge into one organized whole. The hemisphere grows into a bell and acts as a mediator between the base and the crowning structure so that these parts enter into closer relation with its plastic body.

This fusion of architectural elements coincides with the progressive organisation of the Buddhist doctrine and its tradition, in a solid system which is worked out in commentaries and subcommentaries, leaving no gap unfilled. The old teaching has been preserved carefully, but new layers of thought and explanatory work, not excluding scholastic speculation, have crystallised around the kernel and have given it a smoother, well organized surface, rich in details but simplified as a whole.

STŪPAS OF SANCHI.

Fig. 1: Simplified ground-plan of the Great stūpa of Sanchi (third century B. C.). Diameter of the cupola, ca. 120 feet, height 54 ft. The terrace which was added after the completion of the cupola, is 14 ft. high and 5½ ft. wide. The next addition was the railing, of which the Southern gate was erected first, then the opposite one, and finally the east-western pair.

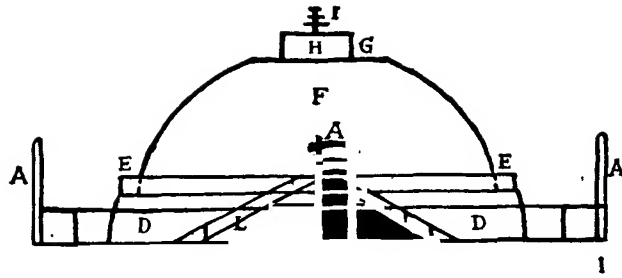
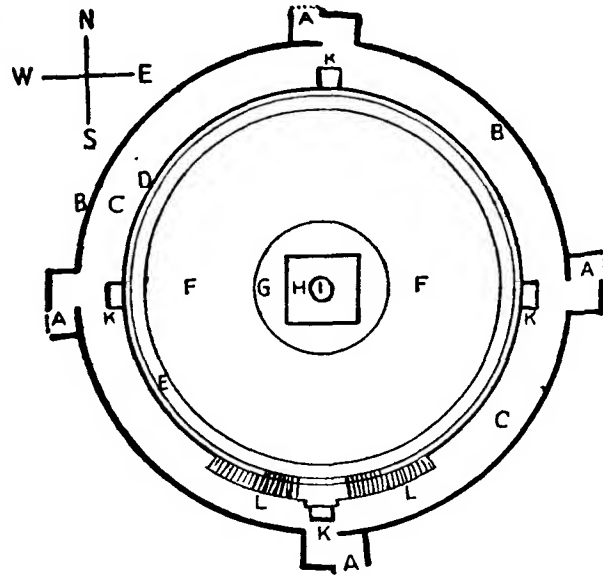


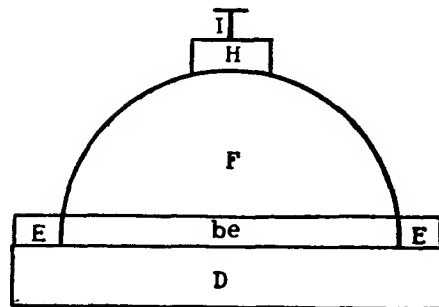
Fig. 2: Elevation of the Great stūpa (restored according to Sir John Marshall's plan, on which also Fig. 1 is based).

Fig. 3: Outline of a smaller Stūpa (No. 3 according to Sir J. Marshall's enumeration), about half the size¹ of the Great stūpa and of later origin (probably IInd century B. C.). Note the development from the flat cupola (Fig. 1) to the complete hemisphere (fig. 3).

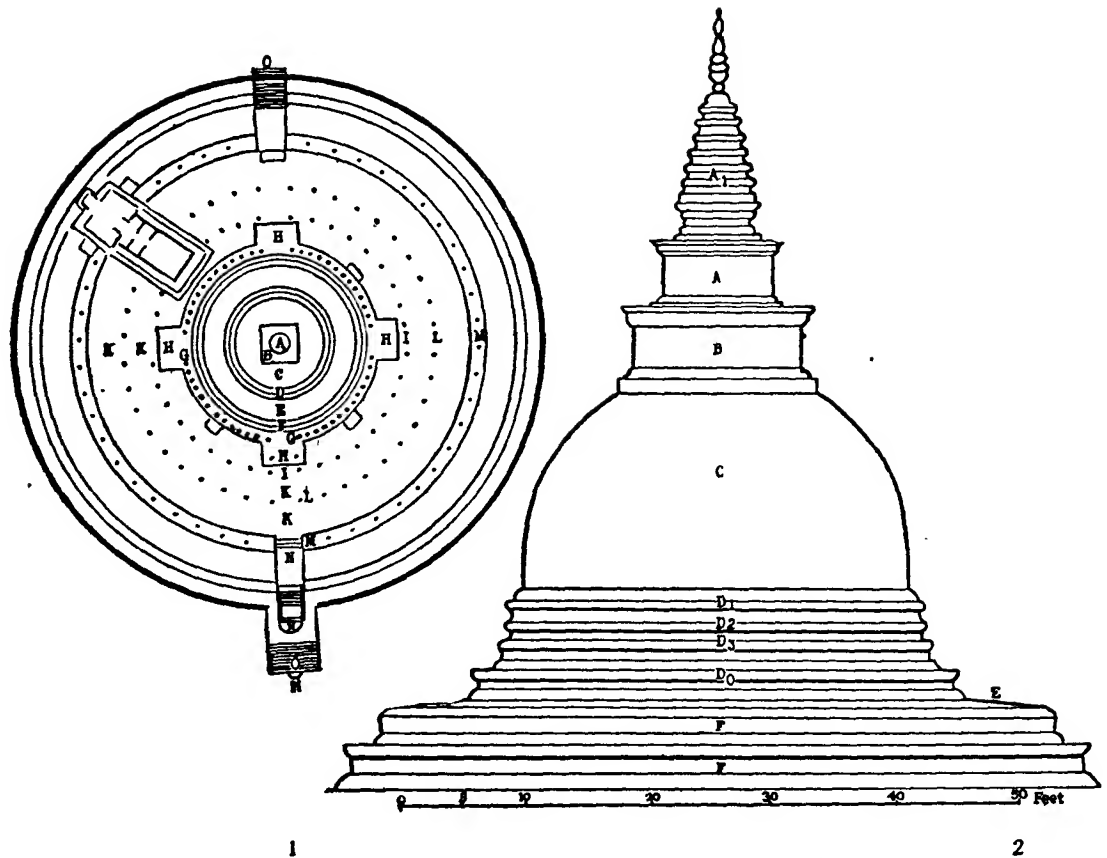


DETAILS :

- A=torāṇa (entrance-gate).
- B=vedikā (stone fence, railing).
- C=pradakṣiṇā patha (circumambulatory path).
- D=foundation, base.
- E=medhi (terrace or upper pradakṣiṇā patha).
- be=stone railing of the terrace.
- F=aṇḍa (hemispheric cupola or dome).
- G=terrace on top of the cupola.
- H=harmikā (kiosk) in shape of a stone fence, containing the relic shrine, which in case of the Great stūpa consisted of a stone cylinder of ca. 6 feet in diameter. The lid of it had a hole, into which the pole of the stone umbrella was fitted.
- I=htī, catta (honorific umbrella); in the ground plan indicating also the place of the cylindric relic receptacle.
- K=the four main places of worship (later on : shrines).
- L=staircase, leading to the terrace for circumambulation.



1. The outline is not drawn to scale in order to make clear its curve in comparison with that of Fig. 1.



THŪPĀRĀMA DĀGOBA, ANURADHAPURA.

(Third century B. C.)

Fig. 1 : Ground plan, showing the original composition : a stūpa with a round platform, the four main places of worship, and the four rows of pillars accompanying the pradakṣiṇā patha.

Fig. 2 : Elevation, showing the modernized shape of the stūpa or dāgoba, as it is called in Ceylon (from dhātugarbha, i. e. relic chamber, originally designating only one part of the stūpa, the receptacle in the harmikā, and later the whole building) with its tendency to subdivide or to multiply the original parts of the stūpa.

Both plans are adopted (with slight simplifications) from James G. Smither "Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura".

DETAILS :

A₁ = spire (hti) with seven strata (bhūmi)
 A = stem or base of the spire
 B = harmikā
 C = bell-shaped dome (aṇḍa)
 D₁—D₄ = rudiments of the three-fold base of the archaic Anuradhapura type
 D₀ = actual base of the dāgoba proper.
 E = terrace of the socle
 F = twofold socle

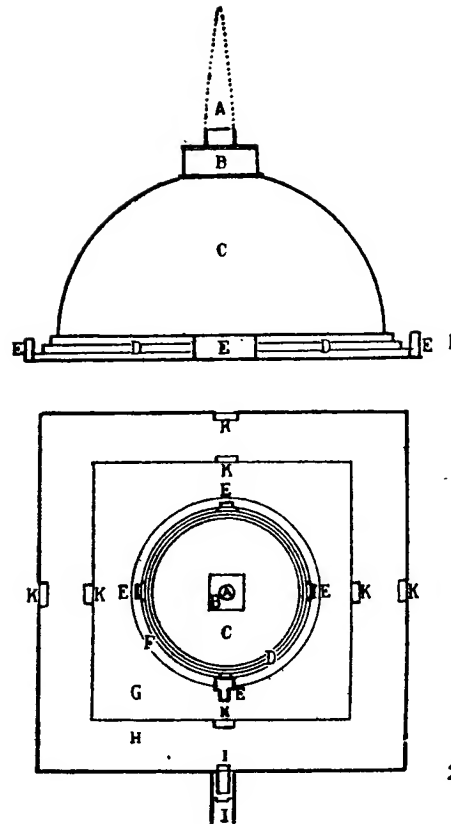
G = first (inner) row of pillars
 H = main places of worship
 I = second row of pillars
 K = pradakṣiṇā patha
 L = third row of pillars
 M = fourth (outer) row of pillars, bordering the sacred place instead of the railing.
 N = main entrance
 O = staircase

RUVANVELI DĀGOBA, ANURADHAPURA

(IIInd—1st century B. C.)

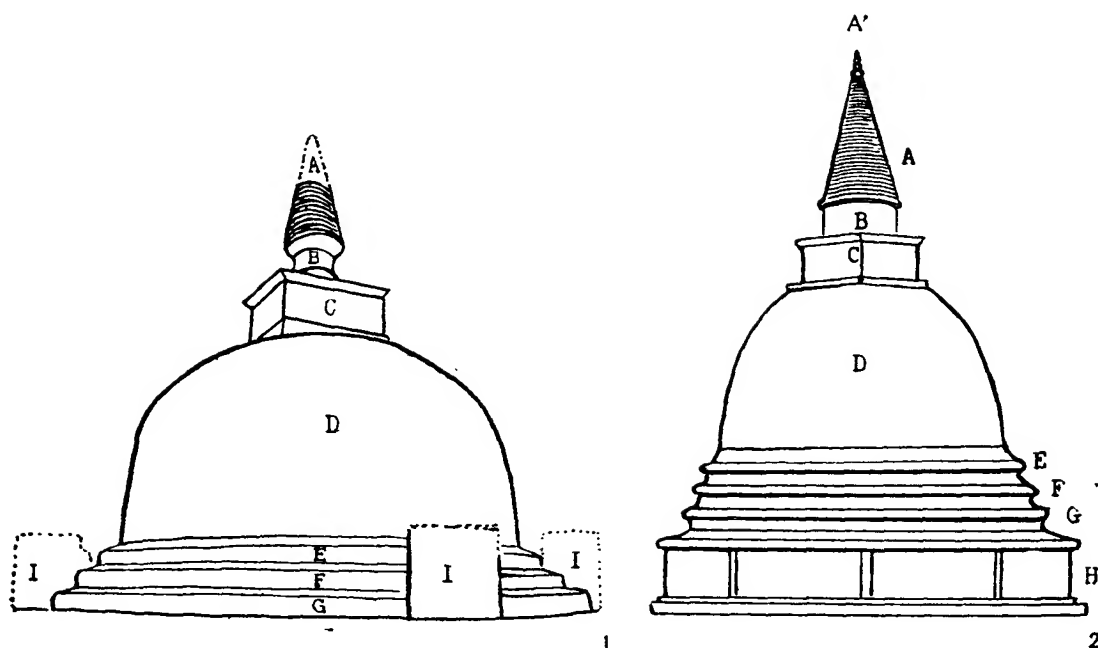
Fig. 1 : Elevation (restored) showing a threefold basic terrace. The original simple base has been subdivided into three cylindric steps. The four main places of worship are strongly marked by altars and opposite entrances (in place of toraṇas).

Fig. 2 : Ground plan : the platform has changed from the round to the square form, as can be seen also in the later stūpas of Sanchi. At the same time the platform has been doubled : the inner enclosure being some steps higher than the outer one. There is only a rudiment of a round platform in the shape of a circular terrace close to the base of the dāgoba. From the four chief points of the compass steps are leading up to the platforms, the main entrance being as usual in the south, because the enlightenment, the most important of the four great events in the Buddha's life, corresponds to the sun in its highest position, i.e., in the south. The 'hti' has grown into a high cone which probably was interrupted by several stone discs or at least crowned by one.



DETAILS :

- A=spire ('hti')
- B=harmikā
- C=hemispheric cupola
- D=threefold base
- E=main places of worship (altars)
- F=circular terrace
- G=upper (central) platform
- H=lower (outer) platform
- I=southern (main) entrance
- K=steps (entrances)



TYPES OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN DĀGOBAS IN CEYLON.

Fig. 1 : Kirivehera dāgoba, Polonnaruwa, XIIth century A. D. (perspective outline). The Anuradhapura style has been preserved, though the threefold basal terrace is higher in proportion to the dome. The main places of worship are marked by shrines.

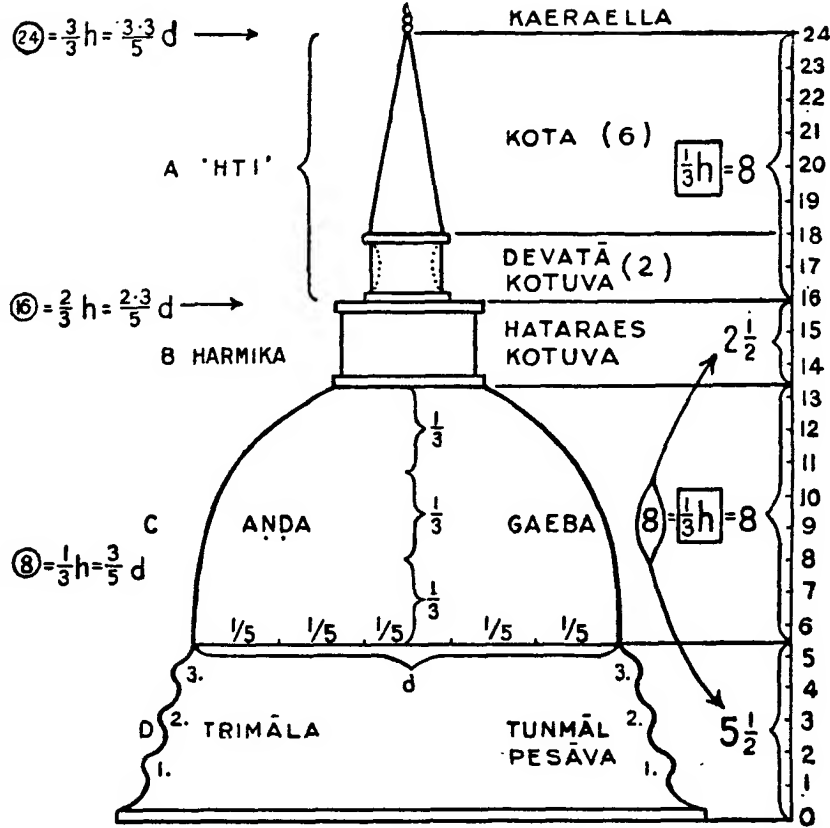
Fig. 2 : Type of a modern dāgoba. The monument proper has been put on an octagonal pedestal, isolating it from the ground (just as the religious doctrine has become isolated from experience by dogmatic tradition). The hemisphere has lost much of its monumental heaviness by growing into the more pleasing form of a bell. The threefold basal terrace is symbolised by three rings at the base of the bell. The horizontal lines of the spire are close together, forming a merely ornamental surface without interceding or crowning umbrellas.

DETAILS :

- A=spire ('hti'), "kunta", Sinhalese : koṭa.
- A'=end of the spire, pinnacle, Sinhalese : koṭa kærælla.
- B=stem or base of the spire, Sinhalese : devatā kotuva.
- C=harmikā, "catussurākoṭṭha" (caturasra koṭṭha) ; Sinh. hataræṣ kotuva.
- D=cupola (aṇḍa), "garbha" ; Sinh. : gæba.
- E, F, G=in fig. 1 the threefold basal terrace ; in fig. 2 the corresponding three rings.
- H=octagonal pedestal (trimālā) Sing. ; tun-māl peṣāva.
- I=shrines at the four main places of worship.

III. Proportions of the dāgoba.

“Thūpesu t ā r a m
 kṛta pañca-bhāgam/
 Guṇaṁ pamāṇaṁ
 tribhāga - tuṅgam/
 Ghaṇṭākāra - ghaṭā-
 kāram/ Bubbulākāra
 -dhānyakam/ Padmā
 -kāraṁbala - sa ṭ
 vidham./ Thūpesu
 tāram kṛta-pañca
 -bhāgam/ Guṇaṁ
 pamāṇaṁ catuṣṣa
 -bhāgam/ Trīmāla-
 pañcārdhaka- garb-
 bham aṣṭam/ Catus-
 surākoṣṭha - yuga-
 rddha - yugmam/
 Saṣṭānta - kuntam
 puṇarddha-chatram/
 Vadanti cātaḥ mu-
 nihiḥ purāṇaiḥ.”



According to these verses which are quoted by H. Parker, Ancient Ceylon p. 336, one has to divide the width of the stūpa into five parts. Three of them represent the height of the cupola, which has six types : bell-shape, waterpot-shape, bubble-shape, heap-of-paddy-shape, lotus-shape and Nelli-fruit-shape. The height of the dāgoba is divided into 24 parts : five and a half of them are counted for the three basal rings or “garlands” (trīmāla), eight for the cupola (garbbha, lit. “womb”), a couple and a half for the quadrangular enclosure (catussurākoṣṭha), i. e. the harmikā, two for the base of the spire, the last six for the spire, and again half a unit for the umbrella. In Parker’s opinion one and a half parts should be counted for the base of the spire, because summing up all the other items, including half a unit for the chatra only, one and a half parts remain. But the verse simply mentions a ‘pair’ (yugmam) at this place and the term saṣṭānta, the “last six” indicates that the half unit for the umbrella is an additional one (the word ‘puṇa’ itself

emphasises the additional character). The modern practice supports my view, as it counts two parts for the base of the spire, leaving out the umbrella, which shows that the chatra was not regarded an essential part of the dāgoba.

The main proportions of the dāgoba can be expressed in the following way : The height of the cupola, which is three-fifth of the diameter of its groundplan, represents one-third of the height of the entire building, and is equal to the height of the spire (including its base) and to the height of the threefold base (trimāla) plus that of the harmikā.

As these proportions generally do not agree with those of the archaic Ceylonese dāgobas, the rules of the verses quoted above cannot go back to pre-Christian times, but according to Parker there are sufficient reasons to say that they are not later than the fifth century A. D.

Nevertheless there is a fundamental principle which reveals itself as well in the original proportions of the stūpa as in the later measurements. As we can see from our summary, the key-number in the vertical composition of the dāgoba is three. This is not a mere accident but it is characteristic even of the earliest Buddhist monuments. Besides the three main parts of the stūpa, namely basis, cupola and kiosk, of which the cupola was three times the height of the basis,—the railing as well as the toraṇas were formed by three bars, or architraves, of purely symbolical meaning, corresponding to the Buddhist trinity : Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha.

The three is characteristic for the dimension of space, the four characterises the extension on the plane, the second dimension. It appears in the ground-plans as the four gates, four main places of worship, four-cornered platforms, four staircases, finally as four-or eight-cornered substructures.

If we see the Buddha-Dharma as a spiritual building, we can find a similar tendency : to develop at the same time in two directions or dimensions which penetrate each other. The one may be called the individual one, the other the universal one. Their relationship is like that of plane to space. The individual one corresponds to the plane, the universal one to space.

The individual principle is bound up with morality and ethics. It is the foundation, the spiritual ground-plan, on which the 'vertical' development into the next higher dimension, the universal aspect of the Dharma is based. Just as the four is the prominent principle in the architectural ground-plans of Buddhist monuments, this number prevails also among the ethical categories or individual aspects and conditions of truth in the Buddhist doctrine : as for instance, the four noble

truths, the eightfold path, the four foundations of mindfulness (*sati-paṭṭhāna*), the four great efforts (*sammappadhāna*), the four fundamental (or sublime) meditations (*appamaññāya* : 'illimitable' state of mind), the four trances (*jhāna* : 4 in *rūpa*, 4 in *arūpa*), the four psychic powers (*iddhipāda*), etc.

The universal aspect of the Dharma which I compared to the dimension of space, is expressed by categories in which the number three prevails in the same sense as in the vertical development or composition of Buddhist architecture. There are, for instance, three universal planes or conditions of conscious existence : *kāmaloka*, *rūpaloka* and *arūpaloka* ; three principles of life or universal characteristics (*lakkhana*) : *anicca*, *dukkha*, *anattā* ; three fundamental motives (*hetu*) : *lobha*, *dosa*, *moha* (and their opposites) ; three principles of action (in the broadest sense) : *kamma*, *vipāka*, *kriyā* ; three principles of existence : *paṭisandhi*, *bhavaṅga*, *cuti*. Just as the third dimension can not exist without the second, or an elevation apart from its ground-plan so are all these categories inseparable from the individual and yet they go beyond it. They are universal in the sense of inherent principles or laws. Though being part of our subjective experience they belong to the 'objective side' of life, i.e., they exist wherever life exists, while the other categories, which I called individual and ethical, are to be acquired or perceived by the individual as they do not exist in it automatically. It is only from this point of view that a distinction between 'individual' and 'universal' can be made here, but not in the sense of mutual exclusiveness. In a more general sense any state of mind which overcomes the limits of individuality may be called universal, as for instance the '*appamaññāya*', but it is neither a constant factor of consciousness nor a universal function or principle of life.

IV. Symbolical terminology of the main elements of the dāgoba.

Not only the proportions but also the names of the different parts of the dāgoba as preserved by the Sinhalese tradition (cf. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*) are of some interest to us. The decorative function to which the threefold terrace has been reduced is indicated in the Sinhalese term *tun-māl pesāva* or *pesāvalallu*, 'the three-story ornaments' or 'ornamental bangles'. The bell-shaped cupola is called *gaeba*, generally translated as 'chamber'. The same word is used for the holy of holies. But it means much more than that, being connected with one of the most significant terms of Indian architecture. The holy of holies, the shrine or sanctuary of Hindu temples is called *garbha-gr̥ha*, lit. womb. The sanctuary, be it the cella of a temple or the relic chamber of a stūpa, is regarded as a centre of creative forces, which like those of the motherly womb generate and transform the seeds of the past into the life-forms of the future. The same function is represented by the egg (*aṇḍa*), and it is not difficult to understand that both terms, *aṇḍa* and (*dhātu-*) *garbha* could be applied simultaneously to the stūpa-dome.

This indicates that the stūpa is the continuation of an age-old tradition which has its roots in the telluric symbolism of prehistoric, matriarchal religions, in which the creative force of the earth (soil) as the mother of all visible life was worshipped in caves or subterranean sanctuaries or dark temple chambers. The early Buddhist cave temple (*caitya-halls*) may be reminiscences of these chthonic cults¹ in which the motherhood of matter and the mysteries of life and creation were the centre of religious attention.

The 'dynamic materialism' of Sāṃkhya with its philosophy of *Prakṛti* and the 'biological materialism' of the Jains—in which even mental properties were reduced to substances which 'flow' into the soul, substances which can be mixed and separated and which act upon each other like chemical fluids or elements,—are the religious and philosophical followers of the telluric tendencies or the earliest religions of humanity. Matter was regarded a living reality—not something mechanical or opposed to spiritual forces or to consciousness. It was not by accident that the temples and monuments of old were built of huge blocks of

(1) E. Diez, *Die Kunst Indiens*, emphasises this idea (p. 182 f.), which, I think, holds good specially for the earliest cave-temples, though I am quite conscious of the fact that also other reasons came in, for instance the necessity for those who wanted to lead a life of meditation, to retire into the loneliest and most undisturbed places. The Buddha himself recommended caves for this purpose.

stone, each of which was in proportion to the weight of the entire structure and represented a definite fraction of the whole. It was not in vain that immense masses of stone were piled one upon the other, and that walls were constructed of an almost unbelievable thickness, regardless of the labour required and of mere utility or expediency ; for in those days, men still knew the value of solid masses.

The historical and philosophical neighbourhood of Sāṃkhya and Jainism agrees with the realistic attitude, the this-sided-ness of Buddhism and its appreciation of the cosmic qualities of matter, in the sense of being the basic state and the most fundamental function in the development of the world. The 'materia' itself contains this meaning : denoting that which is the mother of all phenomena, of all things. It is latent energy, life at rest, but full of hidden activity (like the egg, which is taken as a simile of creation). It is magic substance, endowed with the memory of the past (seed) and charged with potential forces which though continuously radiating and influencing the surroundings are capable to convert themselves into visible life and activity.

Matter is not only the exponent of physical forces, as apparent in the laws of gravitation, resistance, continuity, cohesion, indestructibility (though it may change its form or even its state of aggregation) and in its conformity to certain laws of growth or crystallisation—but also an accumulator of spiritual forces, which are not fundamentally different from those of matter but only intensified to a higher potentiality and transformed into a higher dimension which includes the visible and the invisible, matter and space, the unconscious (i. e., that which is not yet conscious) and the conscious. There is no essential difference between matter and mind, between the outer and the inner world, between the movement of the wind and the movement of breath.

This attitude was not only preserved by the Buddhist doctrine, but it had been facilitated and developed by the idea that the elements of mind and matter are in constant flux and correlation. In the sixth chapter of Abhidhammattha-Sangaha (a compendium of the Theravāda Abhidhamma) for instance, we see that among the eleven qualities or principles of rūpa, the material as well as the immaterial elements are enumerated. Throughout the history of Buddhist philosophy and psychology we find the statements of definite relations between elements, forms, colours, sense organs, sensations, states and properties of consciousness, world-planes, stages of meditation, etc.

If we can see matter from this point of view, we shall also be able to grasp the real meaning of relics and sacred objects like amulets, etc.. Both are saturated with spiritual influences—the former by the nature of their own past, the latter by an intentional concentration of conscious forces upon them through the elaborate execution of their shape. In both cases it is the action that matters, the act of shaping, the concentration of consciousness, of intention, of will-power, in which life is focussed on a particular unit of matter. The amulet is, so to say, an imitation of a materialized life process. It is an abridged growth, an artificial process of reshaping certain life forms or potential moments of consciousness in the condensed form of symbols.

This applies exactly to the stūpa, which is not only a centre of accumulated forces by virtue of the relics, but just as well, and later on mainly, by virtue of its own symbolical composition, which reflects and reconstructs the eternal properties of the Enlightened Ones and the essence of their life. Though these eternal properties manifest themselves individually in ever new incarnations, they are supra-personal and reflect the cosmic order. For this reason the cosmic symbolism of the pre-Buddhistic tumulus could serve the Buddhists as a starting point for their religious architecture and thus preserve one of the most venerable monuments of pre-historic civilisation.

“In the stūpa one of the oldest and most profound cosmic symbols has been preserved for us, a symbol that humanity has created in its remotest past and in its sacred awe before the wonders of the creative power of the world. Without Buddhism this symbol might have never come down to us.” (E. Diez).

Originally the term dhātu-garbha referred only to the harmikā, which actually contained the relics (dhātu) and preserved them as precious seeds for the future of humanity. Later on the aṇḍa became identified with the dhātu-garbha; in fact the dome, on account of successive enlargements grew in many cases beyond (above) the original relic chamber, thus including it and taking over its function, also in the material sense: finally the whole monument was called dhātu-garbha, Sinhalese dāgoba, in Burma and the neighbouring countries, pagoda. That this name does really justice to the fundamental character of these monuments becomes clear if we take into account all their symbolical elements: the latent creative power of the egg, in which life is condensed into the smallest unit, the womb in which these powers are transformed and developed, the sacrificial altar which effects a similar transformation through the purifying force of the fire, and the dhātus, the ‘magic elements’, which were not only purified by the fire of the pyre, but through the fire of self-denial,

in which the Holy One consumed himself during his life-time, nay, during innumerable lives.

And as the Phoenix rises from the ashes so the tree of life and enlightenment grows out of the ashes of the sacrificial altar (*harmikā* ; Sinhalese : *hataraes kotuva*, the four-sided or square enclosure), which crowns the dome, the monumental world-egg and the womb of a new world which has been fecundated by the seeds of a glorious past, reciving the *dhātus*, the potential elements for the spiritual rebirth of the world. The spire (Sinhalese : *kota*) of the *dāgoba* represents this tree of life with its higher worlds, which are realized in profound meditation on the way to enlightenment. Thus the spiritual rebirth of the world starts in the mind of man and the tree of life grows out of his own heart, the centre of his being, the axis of his own world. And while he experiences the different world-planes, the tree of life sprouts and develops within him and spreads its branches in ever new infinities ; in fact, he himself turns into a tree of life, into a tree of enlightenment.

A lonely wanderer on a similar path, Angelus Silesius, has expressed this experience in the following verse :

Shall the life tree free thee from death and strife,
Thyself must turn divine a tree of life."¹

The Sinhalese term for the stem of the spire, *devatā kotuva*, 'the enclosure of gods', is closely connected with the mythical mount Meru with its tree of divine world-planes, inhabited by hierarchies of gods. How strong this tradition has been and how great its influence on the imagination of later generations, even in the remotest places of Indian colonisation, like the Sunda Islands to the east of Java, is shown by the fact that on the island of Lombok in the park of Cakranagara there are pagodas with nine- and eleven-storied roofs and these pagodas are called Meru. But they are not at all *dāgobas* or *stūpas*, as they are without the main body, i. e. the dome and its basal terraces. They consist only in the hypertrophic spire of the *dagoba*, which has been separated and developed independently as a representation of mount Meru in the shape of the cosmic tree with nine or eleven world-planes.

(1) Soll dich des Lebens Baum
befrein von Todsbeschwerden,
So mußt du selbst in Gott
ein Baum des Lebens werden."

"Cherubinischer Wandersmann" II, verse 230. (First Edition 1675).

SANSKRIT SAYINGS BASED ON PAINTING

By C. SIVARAMAMURTY

There are sayings in Sanskrit literature that deal with, and are based on, the activity of the Śilpin, Citrakāra or Rūpakāra, i. e., artist. Though some of these have been incorporated in works as the *Laukikanyāyasaṁgraha* of Raghunātha Varma Udāsīna and the *Laukika Nyāyāñjali* of Colonel Jacob,—both individual works on the subject differing from the shorter compilations found in dictionaries like the *Vācaspatyam*,—they have lost their individuality in a mass of numerous other sayings with entirely different subjects; besides, some more of their class occurring elsewhere may be put together as popular notions on a particular art. The different types of proverbs and sayings may be brought out by the following examples :—

I.

आलेख्यप्रदीपन्यायः : The simile of the lamp in a picture.

This is to illustrate the functionless state of a thing or being which for all practical purposes is the same as a representation of it in a picture, i. e. void of its actions.

Pravarasena gives it in his verse in the *Setubandha*, II, 45. The motionless state of the monkeys is described thus : “The monkeys with their eyes quite fixed in a steadfast gaze were bereft of even their natural restlessness and looked like lamps painted in a picture”.

Kālidāsa has a verse to the same effect in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 15. “The lamps lighted at night, losing suddenly their lustre, by the overpowering brilliance of that auspicious new-born babe that spread all round the bed in the lying-in-chamber, appeared like lights painted in a picture”.

Aśvaghoṣa has a line on this in his *Saundarānanda*, VII, 48. “That person who has neither courage nor patience is useless (lit. is and is not) like a painted lamp”.

आलेख्यशाखिफलन्यायः : The simile of a fruit of the tree in a picture.

This is to explain the futility of a thing. A certain action is as impossible of accomplishment as the enjoyment of the fruit of a tree painted on a canvas. We have it in the verse in the *Rājatarāṅginī* of Kalhaṇa, Vol. II., Taraṅga VIII, 69. "Whether it be on a festive occasion, or on a recounting of misery, or when pleased, or when an act was accomplished successfully, getting a reward from him was as impossible as getting the fruit of a painted tree".

चित्रधनुन्यायः : The simile of a painted bow.

This is to illustrate the useless nature of an object, and the example given is the picture of a bow that can never serve the purpose of a bowman. Bāṇa gives it in the *Harṣacarita*, p. 223. "Who had lost his valour and appeared bent in the act of flattery (attributing false good qualities, *Guṇas*) like a bent bow in a picture with a false painted bowstring tied to it".

चित्रकुसुमन्यायः : The simile of a painted flower.

This is to illustrate the useless nature of a thing. A flower in a picture is void of fragrance and is useless for all practical purposes. Bāṇa mentions this in his *Harṣacarita*, p. 23. "Whose existence was useless like a flower in a picture, in spite of its great beauty of form".

चित्राङ्गनान्यायः : The simile of the painted maiden, etc.

A woman in a picture is merely a picture and cannot be counted as a living form for any purpose. Bāṇa explains this in his *Kādambarī*, p. 23. "She could be enjoyed by a mere sight like one painted in a picture". The same is given as *Bhittiputtalaka* (a figure painted on the wall), though here a man is meant and not a woman, by *Sātavāhana* in his *Gāthāsaptasatī*, III, 17. The *Dūtī* is addressed with a suitable illustration by the *Nāyikā* desirous of the love of her lord : "He is to be befriended who does not stand unconcerned in one's joy or sorrow like a painted figure".

Kṣemendra gives the idea in the verse of his *Avadānakalpalatā*, Vol. II., ch. LXIV, sl. 303. "The beauty of one who has no valour or good qualities but a mere attractive form, is like a figure in a painting, an ornamentation on a wall, and nothing more".

The *Laukikanyāyasaṅgraha* has this explanation of the simile. "Just as a painted damsel, though visible yet cannot be embraced or kissed, so also here".

Colonel Jacob gives an additional quotation of Raghunātha which he presumes is from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. "Ambrosia in a picture is no ambrosia ;

painted fire is no fire ; a painted damsel is no damsel, and book knowledge is no knowledge”.

लेखागवयन्यायः : The simile of the painted Gavaya.

This is to show that from the idea of a thing given, the thing itself is comprehended. The illustration cited is the sketch or drawing of a Gavaya (cow-like animal) given to a villager who on meeting it in a forest understands it by the similarity of form in the picture.¹ Colonel Jacob quotes from Raghunāthavarma to explain it.

“Being asked what a Gavaya was by a villager, a forester drew a picture of it and showed it to him ; but the villager being a dullard, took the sketch itself to be the Gavaya. Later seeing a real Gavaya in the forest, he got rid of the notion that the sketch was the Gavaya.....” so goes the story. Similarly he who does not know the text preceding the vedic passage ‘eṣa puruṣa’ etc., takes anātman to be ātman. When through the master’s teaching he learns the ātman then he rejects the false notion of ātman he entertained.

चित्रतुरगन्यायः : The simile of the painted horse.

This is to show that an idea of a thing is suggested to us by a look at its form in a picture.²

“There is no idea ‘this is Rāma’, or ‘he is not happy’, or ‘he may or may not be Rāma’ or ‘he is like Rāma’; but different from all these exact, wrong, doubtful, or comparative (kinds of) knowledge we have a special idea that this is that happy Rāma according to the simile of the painted horse”.

Commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra by Abhinavagupta,
Vol. I., Gaek. O. S., p. 275.

“Different from a sure knowledge like ‘surely this is Rāma’, different from a wrong knowledge ‘this is not Rāma’, born of a sense of having mistaken the person for Rāma, different from a doubtful knowledge ‘this may or may not be Rāma’ and different also from a knowledge of similarity ‘this is like Rāma’, the actor is to be understood in an entirely different and special sense as Rāma according to the simile of the painted horse.”

Kāvyaprakāśa, Ānandāśrama series IV., p. 92.

1. The story, as in the case of the above quotations, shows that a thing in a painting is not the thing in nature. This seems obvious enough. It is however important to find this notion so commonly alluded to. It proves that even popular opinion knew a painting as a thing complete in itself. Deceptive illusionism would be the very opposite.—St. K.

2. Different from the cognition of a thing is its painted version. The difference of ‘form’ not only from nature, (cf. note 1) but also from the predicate of a subject, is conveyed here. Form is conceived, information derived.—St. K.

चित्रपटन्यायः : The simile of the painted canvas.

This Nyāya is introduced by the Advaita Vedāntins to explain the oneness of Paramātmān, the supreme Brahman, and the apparently different world around, teeming with various types. Just as different figures in a picture, like the king, the noblemen, peasants, animals, trees, etc., though viewed and understood as high and low, animate and inanimate, are so understood only in a conventional sense,—they being after all mere patches of colour, the green or brown of a tree being in no way different from the green and brown of a parrot or a lion, and all of them being absolutely one with the canvas,—so also the different beings and things that display an apparent difference and individuality in this world can in no way be divorced from the Brahman in whom they live and move and have their being, part and parcel of Him. Vidyāraṇya has a separate chapter in his Pañcadaśī, called Citradīpaprakaraṇa, to discuss this question. The illustration of the Citrapaṭa is explained in many verses of this chapter of which the following are important for our purpose.

“Just like a canvas rolled open reveals its figures, so does the Supreme One make manifest the whole world concealed in Him by the karman of the souls. When the karman is spent up, the whole world is concealed in Him as a rolled canvas conceals the figures. Just as a prepared canvas is marked (sketched) all over with faint figures in black colour so is the body of God marked with faint impressions of forms. The picture of this variegated universe is put on the canvas of His consciousness through His Māyā ; apart from Māyā is consciousness.”

Apart from establishing the oneness of the Prapañca (manifoldness of the world) and the Paramātmān, the verses while explaining Upaniṣadic sayings, refer to habits of painters of that time, such as the rolling and unrolling of canvases, the sketching of pictures on the prepared canvas, etc.

The Laukikanyāyasaṁgraha has a short and lucid explanation of this saying. To answer the question “when we have variety, how can there be a talk of oneness” there is brought in (as an explanation) the simile of the painted canvas. “Just as the figures have no existence apart from the canvas so there is no existence of the world apart from the Supreme One. Thus, just as the figures though considered separately are taken as one with the canvas, so does the knowledge of diversity in the world not interfere with the idea of its oneness with the Supreme One; in the case of the true philosopher.”

II.

सद्भित्तिलिखित चित्रन्यायः : The simile of a painting on a well prepared wall.

This is to emphasize the proper selection of the receptacle of a thing. The example given is the wall well prepared for painting pictures on it. The rules laid down for preparing the surface of the wall are elaborate for this very purpose. Pictures executed on such prepared surfaces alone are shown off to advantage. Kṣemendra gives it in his *Samayamātṛkā*, IV, 17 : "You alone fit for gods, are the right one to receive His teachings ;—it is the picture painted on a well prepared wall that makes the eye (gaze in) wonder".

Rājānaka Kuntaka expresses a similar idea in the *Vakroktijīvita*, *Unmeṣa* III : "The most beautiful account of a person described who is wanting in good qualities produces no charm like a painting executed on a bad wall".

चित्रभित्तिन्यायः : The simile of the painted wall.

This is to show the all-embracing capacity of a thing. The theme of the paintings on the wall is wide enough to cover subjects of all the three worlds, past, present and future. Bāṇa suggests it in his *Kādambarī*, p. 103. "It appeared to show the whole universe on its painted walls".

Śrī Harṣa also speaks of this broad scope for the painter's brush on the wall, in the line in the *Naiṣadha*, XVIII. "There the painted walls having every possible picture theme, possessed the Paurāṇic stories represented".

Danḍin has a line to the same effect in his *Avantīsundarīkathā*, p. I. śl. 5. "Their painted walls were wonderful on account of pictures of the three worlds."

कुड्यं विना चित्रकर्मन्यायः : Simile of a painting without a wall.

This is to illustrate the absurdity of a thing and the example given is the painter trying to paint a picture without a proper ground, wall, canvas, etc. We have it stated in the lamentation of Rākṣasa in the *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, Act II. śl. 4. "When the race of the Nandas, who have subdued their enemies by a use of their statesmanship, force and amiable qualities, were annihilated by fate just like the race of the Vṛṣṇis, this, my work of painting, appears to me who has spent sleepless nights with a restless mind, as without a wall (on which it is to rest)."

Kalhaṇa gives it in the following verses of the *Rājatarāṅginī*, vol. II, viii, 2794 ; IV, 566 : "Seeing all round that great power of the king which appeared

like a painting executed without a wall." "Is your valour which serves the purpose of the wall, intact ? When that is not lost, all paintings can be easily executed."

The simile of the painting without a wall, is used in many places to denote the absurdity of a thing, for inst. :

Vikramāṅkādevacarita of Bilhaṇa, XIII, 74 ; Hariharopādhyāya's Bhartṛhari-nīrveda, Act V, 29 ; Hemacandra, Sthavirāvalīcarita, II, 483 ; Avadānakalpalatā, chap. L. ix. 97 (Vol. II, p. 213) ; Kathāsaritsāgara, I. vi. 50. Colonel Jacob gives the following examples under this Nyāya : Laukikanyāyāñjali, p. 22, Part II and p. 131, Part III ; Nyāyamañjarī, p. 103 ; Sāṁkhyakārikā, 41 ; Aniruddha's comment on Sāṁkhyasūtra, III, 12 ; Mallinātha on Tārkikakarakṣā, pp. III and 176 ; Com. on Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa, p. 30, line 7 (Pandit, July 1903).

Vernacular proverbs like "A painting can be made only when there is a wall," are based on this. It is a common household proverb and occurs in general conversation. Being uppermost in the minds of people it serves very often the purpose of exemplification. It is thus that we find it used by Sāyaṇācārya in his introduction to the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda Taittirīya Saṁhitā, where importance is given to the Yajurveda which is compared to the Bhitti (wall), while the Sāmaveda and the Ṛgveda are declared to be dependent on it like the Citra (painting).

III.

उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायः : The simile of infusing life into a picture.

This is to show the infusing of life into a thing which appeared so far inert and dead. The illustration is that of the painter giving the final touches to the figure in a picture which had lain lifeless all the while. He makes it full of life. Kālidāsa mentions this in the verse of the Kumārasambhava, I, 32. "Her body clearly defined (modelled) by youth was beautifully symmetrical and appeared like a painting given life touches with a brush, or like the lotus opened by the rays of the sun."

Bāṇa conveys the same idea in his Kādambarī, p. 548. "Seeing at dawn the body of Candrāpīḍa that resembled a picture given life touches," and Mayūra graphically describes it in his Sūryaśataka, 26 :

"Let the light of the sun bring you joy, the light that is white because it absorbs part of the moonlight, slightly black (blue) on account of a part of the spent night, yellowish because of the first glimmer of light, and red because of the peeping

dawn, that brings to life or (wakes up) the whole picture-like world like a brush that gives life touches to a picture."

The idea is also suggested in the verse of Haricandra's *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya*, XVII, 18 : "This wonderfully exquisite high-water-mark of Brahmā's skill in *śilpa*, (this woman) through whom the *Martyaloka* (land of mortals) has far outshone *Svarga* (the heavens) and *Pātāla*, (the under world) now comes to life," and in that of the *Neminirvāṇa* of *Vāgbhaṭa*, I, 49 : "The thin line of hair on the abdomen of the damsels resembling the beautiful full blown *Campaka* flower, shone like a streak of black paint that had accidentally fallen off the face, while *Brahmā* gave life touches (by painting the eyes) with a *śalākā* (pencil.)"

We have it also in the verse of the *Rāmacarita* of *Abhinanda*, III, 73.

कैः शिक्षिता वर्तयितुं तदासीदुन्मीलितं तूलिकमेव चित्रम् ।

तरङ्गवत्तुङ्गहारद्वनालीविसंस्थुले व्योमनि बालसन्द्या ॥

....."By whom *Sandhya* (sunset) was taught to paint the sky crowded with rows of high autumnal clouds, like a picture given life, by the touches of a brush."

Here two special features in painting, *Unmīlana* (giving life) and *Vartanā* (rounding off), are specifically stated. But the most explanatory reference is given in the verse of the *Haravijaya* of *Rājānaka Ratnākara*, XVI, 65 : "In the mansions of his enemies the figures painted on the walls being left in a half finished state and therefore with their eyes not worked yet, (no life being infused into them by the working of the pupils, etc.) took *Lakṣmī* (prosperity) to be ephemeral just like the night and day."

Introducing many points of *Citra*, *Ratnākara* again speaks of *Citrāmīlana* (infusing life into the picture) in the verse—

सभूमिलाभं शुभवर्तिरेखया मनोरमं मण्डलकार्यमस्खलत् ।

अशेषमुन्मीलयति क्षमाभृतां विचित्ररूपा ननु नीतितूलिका ॥ XII, 30

"The wonderful brush of royal policy infuses life into the painting-like work of the kings by introducing *Bhūmilābham* (gaining fresh territory in the case of the kings, and working of the background¹ in the case of the picture), by a *Śubhavartirekha* (a clean line of the brush in the case of painting, and a demarcation of good life in the case of the king's policy), by 'askhalat manoramam maṇḍalakāryam'

1. Bhūmi is the ground, and not the background.—St. K.

(faultless care of the government of the country in the case of kings, and faultless rounded picture work¹).

K. A. Subrahmanya Aiyar² gives a quotation from the Mahārthamañjarī where Maheśvarānanda uses this Nyāya in describing Sadāśiva and Īśvara.

अहन्तेदन्तालक्षणयोर्ज्ञानक्रिययोराद्योद्वेकात् उन्मीलितचित्रन्यायेन व्यक्ताव्यक्तविश्वमातृतास्वभावं सदाशिवाख्यं तत्त्वम् । एतद्विषयेन क्रियाशक्त्यौज्ज्वल्ये व्यक्ताकारविश्वानुसंधातृरूपं ईश्वरतत्त्वमिति ।

"The Sadāśivatattva, the cause of the world in the state when it is simultaneously both manifest and unmanifest, like the picture worked up to look full of life, is so when Ahanta (I) "consciousness" predominates over Idanta (this), "action". When the contrary happens and Kriyāśakti predominates over Jñānaśakti, there results Īśvaratattva quite manifest and planning the whole of the world."

Though he supposes the उन्मीलित (given life) picture as such to be व्यक्ताव्यक्त, (revealed) it is difficult to see how it could be so, since Kālidāsa appears to leave us no room for the supposition by the use of such phrases as सूर्योशुभिर्भिन्न-मिवारविन्दम् (lotus opened by the sun rays) and वपुर्विभक्तम् (body modelled); further we have the traditional custom of the opening of the eyes of the image, as the last work of the painter and the image maker. When this is done the picture or image looks finished.³

1. Vartanā and maṇḍalakāryam signify the same, i.e., rounding off, in the sense of modelling by shading. Re. vartanā and vattana, cf. Atthasālinī, PTS. ed., p. 64 and Coomaraswamy, An Early Passage on Indian Painting, Eastern Art, 1931, p. 219; Kramrisch, Viṣṇudharmottara, 2nd ed., p. 59; Note 16 on unmīl, sphuṭ, āṅkana, vartanā etc., Coomaraswamy, Technique and Theory of Indian Painting, Technical Studies, Harvard University, Vol. III. No. 2.—St. K.

2. Journal of Or. Res., Madras, Vol. VI, Part IV, page 345.

3. But the citing of the उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय for explaining the व्यक्ताव्यक्त state of Sadāśivatattva may mean that the Sadāśivatattva is not so pronounced or marked as the Īśvaratattva for want of क्रियाशक्त्यौज्ज्वल्य; but its being व्यक्ताव्यक्त according to the उन्मीलितचित्रन्याय has to be explained. Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppaswami Sastry has suggested the following solution. The word used, is not चित्रोन्मीलन but उन्मीलितचित्र. The past passive participle is very significant here. According to the sūtra of Pāṇini आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च (3-4-71) we have the क्तप्रत्यय used in the active, passive and impersonal senses when denoting just the very first moment after an act is completed. Taking this into account if we see the उन्मीलितचित्र it is व्यक्त (finished or manifest) in the sense that the artist has done his work—given his last brush stroke and at the same time अव्यक्त (unfinished or unmanifest) in the sense that it is आद्यक्षणवच्छिन्न and incapable of creating an impression of 'finish' in the spectator's mind, lacking the required minimum of interval to produce an impression, being akin to the Naiyāyika's उत्पन्नघट which is characterised as क्षणमगुणं तिष्ठति. The use of the niṣṭhā क्त throughout in Kālidāsa's work in the passive sense उन्मीलितं, भिन्नं and विभक्तं, as also the use of नव in apposition to यौवन is telling. It is not यौवन of some duration that is spoken of, but the आदिक्षण of नवयौवन, the newly dawned youth, नवयौवन. It is just in this sense that the first moment of the उन्मीलितचित्र is to be understood as व्यक्ताव्यक्त. Otherwise all उन्मीलितचित्र are from the next moment onwards fully completed and full of life.

IV.

यादृशश्चित्रकरस्तादृशी चित्रकर्मरूपरेखा :

It is the popular belief of India that the picture or image takes after its maker. Rājasekhara mentions it in the Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā, 35. The king supposes the picture to be that of a woman drawn by herself :

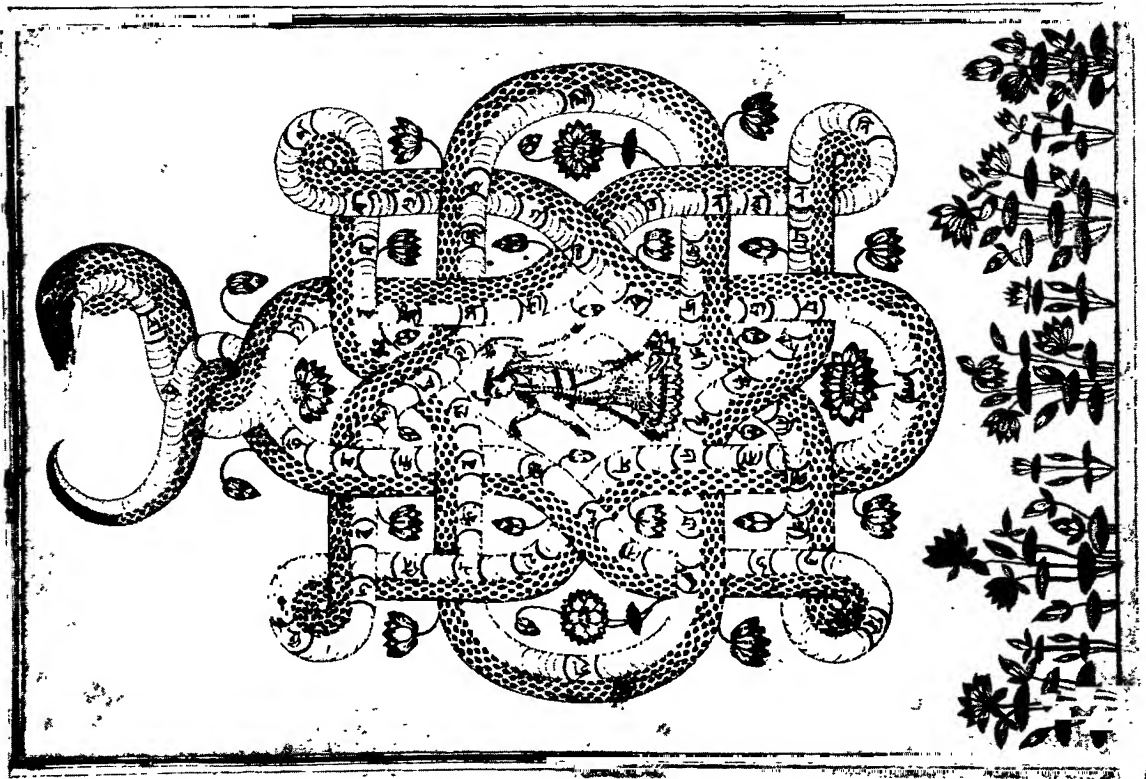
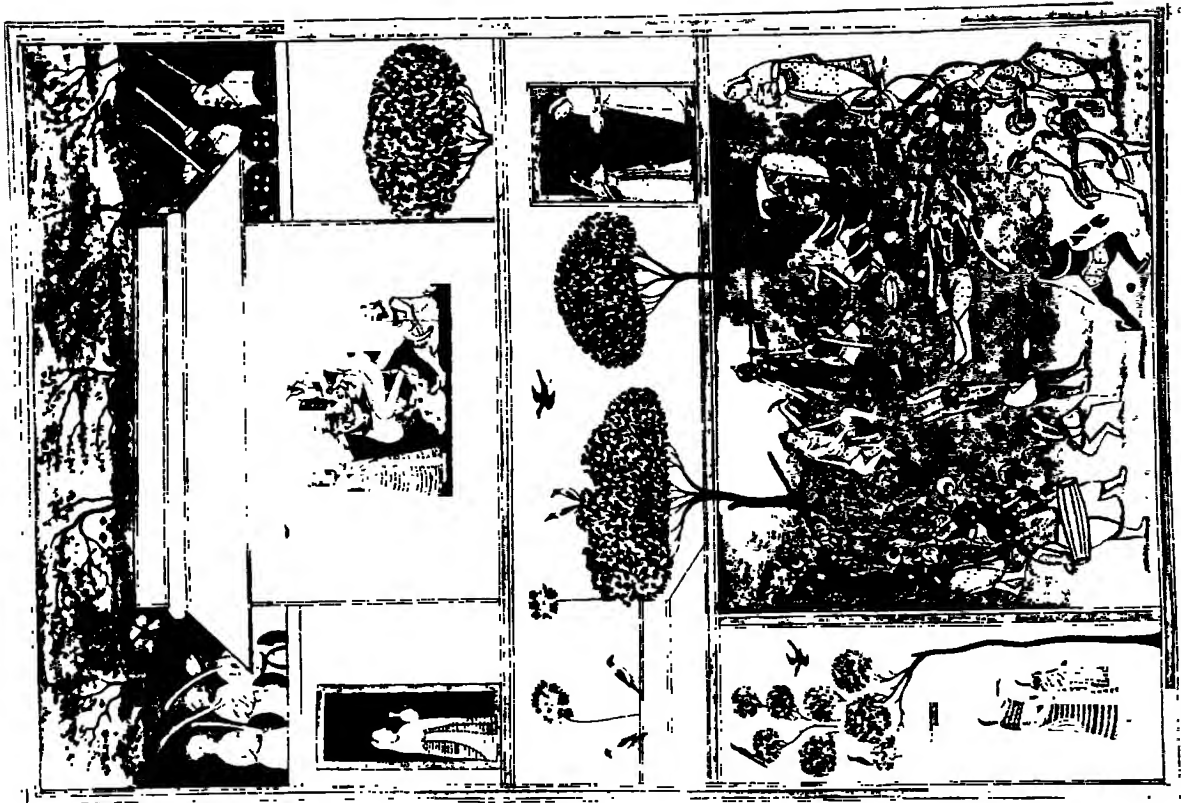
“King (discerning). Oh ! wonderful is the beauty of form of the painter ; and the painting resembles the original. I know this to be the work of a woman since the line work here is continuous (unbroken). I conclude that this woman (lit. banner of Cupid) has herself painted her form. Vidūṣaka : Quite so. It is held in highly cultured circles that the beauty of a picture is like unto the painter and that the charm of a poetic piece is akin to the poet.”

The idea is repeated in his Kāvyaṁimāṁsā, ch. X :

“Further he should always be clean. There are three kinds of cleanliness : clean speech, clean mind and clean body. The first two are born of study, the third consists in clipping the nails on the feet, filling the mouth with pān (betels), smearing the body with sandal, etc., wearing costly and thin apparel, and ornamenting the head with flowers. Cleanliness is said to be a sort of worship of Sarasvatī (goddess of learning). As is the poet, so is his work. As is the painter, so is his painting ; so it is generally held”.

There is a quotation in the Śabdakalpadrūma under the head ‘Citra.’

“When the painter is old, the picture looks old ; if he were disease-stricken, the picture also would look wan ; if he were deformed, it would be ugly ; if the artist were a fool it would never get worshipped. As is the form of the painter, so is the picture.”



AN ILLUMINATED GĪTA GOVINDA MS.

By ST. KRAMRISCH

The illuminations of a Gīta Govinda manuscript from Bengal, some of which are reproduced on Pls. XXXIX-XLIV¹, are equally distanced from the song they accompany and from earlier paintings in Bengal. The pallor and accuracy of a certain type of Kangra miniatures of the beginning of the nineteenth century, the weeping willow of contemporary Western sentimental pattern belong to the same thin atmosphere. Still, some of the luxuriance of Jayadeva's song, some of the glow of post-Caitanya painting in Bengal, linger even in these illuminations which have left behind the expansive and utterly abandoned strain. About a century old, many a trait is linked with themes valid in India for two thousand years or more. Along with such age-old motivation, there is in a new situation, a submissive fantasy which has no conflict. A light and experienced hand sanctions its ramblings.

There are thirty seven pages of the Gīta Govinda, about $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 11''$ amply illuminated, on hand-made paper and painted with indigenous colours, directly on to the surface of the paper without priming. In addition there are ten more pages, four of which, about $12\frac{1}{8}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$, on a dark green ground, have a golden circle, a twelve-petalled lotus, a rectangular panel and a four-petalled lotus, each device of large size in the centre of the page. The following six pages ($14\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{8}''$) use much of the white paper surface as part of the picture (Pl. XXXIX). Barring two pages, they all show Sarpa-bandhas (intertwined serpents) in the following constellations : Two serpent-couples intertwined, two serpent-couples of which each single pair is intertwined separately, four serpents intertwined and one serpent alone coiling into a geometrical pattern. One page contains a Valaya-bandha, bangles intertwined. In case of lateral panels, these are occupied by peacocks with serpents, or trees of the weeping willow type with birds or else by floral patterns. A row of red lotuses, at the bottom, a sky clouded with grey and blue or streaked

¹ Copyright reserved with R. C. Mandal, the owner of the Ms.

with gold and orange like a faint curtain drawn apart to show the Bandha, make its incongruous surroundings. One page (fol. X) contains a scene of childbirth and Kīrtan (Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 2).

Obviously the three different sizes of the pages indicate that they were not part of one manuscript; they are, however, kept together by the Mandal family of Chinsura. The present owner of the manuscript, Ramesh Chandra Mandal, Zamindar, a Suvarṇavanik, traces the early history of his family from a village Karjana in the district of Burdwan. The first nine pages, occupied by Kāvya-bandha (p. 121), and the tenth page, may be considered as introductory. They may have been entrusted to different hands, or may not all have been painted at the same time. The last six introductory pages are either later in date, or less conservative, than the paintings of the Gīta Govinda. The manuscript is not dated. On the last page Śrī Kṛṣṇa Candra Śarman is given as the name of the painter who was also the writer of the text. He may have been a Brahmin of the Ācārya class. These, during the time of the Buddhist Pāla kings of Bengal were Buddhists. Even today the Ācārya Brahmins are painters and prepare horoscopes.

Text and illustration.

The illuminations of this Gīta Govinda manuscript are planned (Pls. XL and XLIV) according to one idea which is carried out in a number of variations on its thirty seven pages. In every case the written text occupies a rectangular panel in the centre and the scheme most frequently applied is, that this is accompanied by an equally long panel, above as well as below, filled with paintings and a quadrangular one to the right as well as to the left. There are, moreover, quadrangular fields in the corners. The variations from this main theme occur within the first four pages of the Daśāvatāra Stotra (Hymn of the ten incarnations) where the lateral panels are either partly omitted or vary in size. The central panel with the script may also float in the midst of the page and within a field where figures are set between manifold floral constellations of Mughal and contemporary Western derivation (fol. 6, 29). These skilled and diverting variations none the less are referable to one conception and fol. 36 (Pl. XLIV) shows it clearly. The large surface of the paper page is a free version of a palm-leaf manuscript page. This appears tripled. The row in the middle is the nucleus. It has the written text in the main panel, accompanied by square panels at the sides each filled with a lotus rosette with circular centre, the transformed spot which in palm leaf manuscripts held a hole. This allowed the string to pass which kept the Ms.

together.¹ But leaving aside the palm leaf origin, the rectangular spaces of the illustrations (ālekhyā-sthāna) which occupy by far the major part of the page, cover the now widely extended margins of the text.

The panels and scenes, on the whole, do not illustrate the words on each particular page; they show mood and setting not only of the *Gīta Govinda*. They hold the atmosphere of Vaiṣṇava lyricism. They surround the text and have by far the larger share on each page. The text runs on from page to page while a wide and multifarious setting keeps present the fragrance in which the special scenes and moods are embedded and in which they may, but need not, be shown exactly along with the text. Here as throughout Indian art it is the 'sthāyi-bhāva' (the thing that stays) which is made visible form. It is diffused through the paintings; they are the permanent setting for the current of the song, its broadly spreading embankments.

This root-conception leads to further and closely knit connections. While the surface is divided into panels, they are also joined medallion-wise all around the central one, so that the hillocks are painted at the bottom of the four panels in the middle of each side; they clasp the text panel and it appears to be the name-plate of the entire painted field (fol. 5, 7, 8, 11, 13-15, etc., Pl. XL).

Such fusing of the seemingly divided parts, draws into unity the fields with creepers, those filled with 'landscape' and the others with groups of human figures.

1. In Eastern Indian and Nepalese palm leaf Mss. two string holes, as a rule, are made at equal and considerable distance from the sides. A narrow stripe, often ornamented, fixes the position of each of them in the lay-out of the page, in between the spaces allotted to the text or to the paintings. (for inst. *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, A. S. B. No. 4203; Coomaraswamy, *Portfolio of Indian Art*, Pl. XXXII, R. D. Banerjee, *The Pālas of Bengal*, Pls. XXXVI, XXXVII). The page numbers are frequently written near the one of the lateral edges of the page. The spot where these brief numerals were set down can scarcely be assumed as the starting point of the persistent dot.

In Western Indian Mss. where the transition from palm leaf to paper page can be followed from the end of the fourteenth century (W. Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*, p. 15), the transformed string hole has a considerable share in the make up of the page. One string hole in the middle of the page, or two lateral ones seem to be the original types. W. Norman Brown, op. cit., Pl. II shows a palm leaf with an irregular string hole in the middle, within a faded red and ornamented dot. Pl. V, a paper page, has one such red dot no longer pierced by a hole, on either side and near the margin. Fig. 21 has three dots, the middle and the lateral ones, each within a narrow panel of its own, whereas Fig. 22 has the dot in the middle freely set into the text panel. In Fig. 35 the same arrangement uses lozenge shapes instead of dots. These may be variously ornamented.

Whatever shape or colour, these round, square, or lozenge shaped, etc., 'dots' are an essential part of the illuminated pages of paper Mss. from Western India.

The original purpose of the string holes was to allow the single pages to be bound together. The persistency of the dot without a string hole serves the purpose of focussing the mind of the reader on the context of the page, a visual aid to concentration.

All of these are referred to the centre either by the raised ground-, or hill-motif, at the bottom, or by the 'stem' within the floral fields, which is laid in the diagonal towards the centre. This fantasy is further stressed (fol. 35) where the flower scrolls are substituted by flowering trees of which the stems point towards the centre.

The traditional, the palm-leaf theme, freed from size and shape of the actual palm-leaf, in a manuscript made of paper, sets the scheme of the lay-out¹. The painter's response to the song, as a painter, concentrates the pattern into a type of book illumination, quite different from marginal embellishments of *Mughal* manuscripts or 'livres d' heures'. Above and below, right and left have no meaning here, for thus seen the panels or scenes but for those of the top row, stand on their heads or lie on their sides, whereas they fall back, petal-wise from the centre which they have in common. Such an arrangement, ingenuous in an illuminated manuscript, has its antecedents. A painted floor from Tell-el-Amarna, Egypt,² for instance shows the vegetation around a rectangular tank equally spread, in bands parallel to the tank, the top away and the stem directed towards it.

If such be the outlay of paintings and text in this *Gīta Govinda* manuscript, the purely optical relation of written and painted panels has also to be taken account of.

The writing of moderate merit, as a rule is well balanced (see, however, Pl. XLIV) within the outlines of the central panel. Blackness gives it sufficient central weight while its shaggy spacing and cursive lines approximate it in texture to flower tendrils and creepers round about. This quality, peculiar to Bengali script, could not have been arrived at with Devanāgarī block letters of earlier manuscripts. In their case the connection of painted panel and text-panel is one of contrast, severe or sumptuous. The liquid script is in keeping with the brush strokes in the painted panels. This does not so much refer to the outlines of the human figures. They are thin and sharp. But 'landscape' and floral panels are free from this meticulous black edge. Either outlined by a deeper shade (the raised ground, Pl. XL) or mere line itself (the stems of trees, creepers, etc.), the painted characters approximate the written ones as far as their flexibility goes.

1. The earlier *Gīta Govinda* paintings from Basohli (Rūpam, No. 37, Pl. opp. p. 6) cover each an entire page, and the text is written on the back of the page. Cf. also N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, Pl. 23.

2. Woermann, *Geschichte der Kunst*, vol. I, Fig. 93.



They are the work of one hand. Diagonal strokes in-between the parallel lines of the text, bind these into a connected field. The tops of the trees have no outlines drawn : they cluster into lumps and their arrangement and colour bring about rhythmically rounded silhouettes.

Pratīka (emblem).

There is yet another connection between text and figure of which the various Bandha emblems outside the Gīta Govinda manuscript proper give proof. Fol. IX (Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 1) has one mighty cobra coiled and knotted Śrī Yantra-wise with letters (varṇa) inscribed on the light half of its body. They read,¹ beginning near the head of the serpent :

रासे सारङ्गसङ्घचितनवनलिनग्रामवत्तः(ः)स्थदामा
बर्हालङ्कारहारस्फुरदमलमहारागचित्ते (?) जयाय (?) ।
गोपालो दासबोधी (?) ललितहितवरस्फारहासस्थिरासि (?)
नव्यो (?) जस्रत्तणोपाश्रितविततवने बोधिरक्ता (?) बभासे ॥

"Gopāla, youthful and ever fond of frequenting avenues (?), wearing a garland of fresh lotus-flowers swarmed by bees, resplendent with pure, opulent, glittering hues emanating from (his) peacock-plumage crest and other ornaments, appeared triumphantly glorious at the dance in the extensive grove, a scene of incessant merry-making, and resonant in the shadowy paths with sweet, pleasing, most hearty peals of unceasing laughter."

In the internal polygon of the coils, in the centre² of the emblem, Gopāla dances on a lotus flower. Upward and downward, lotus buds and flowers start from the serpent body and much in the same way as they are shown in Barhut where they issue upward and downward from the stūpa³, the main object of concentration and worship. The entire Sarpa-bandha⁴ floats in the air ; a naturalistic convention of Western origin draws clouds apart, to either side. Below there are lotuses growing. This signifies water and potentially the manifested universe. The setting of the emblem, the entire conception of such a page refers to a consistent inner experience.

1. According to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

2. Cf. Kāmakalā-vilāsa, Tāntrik Texts, vol X, verses 22—24, 37, 38 ; The Bindu called Sarvānandamaya which is Parāśakti.

3. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, Pl. 23.

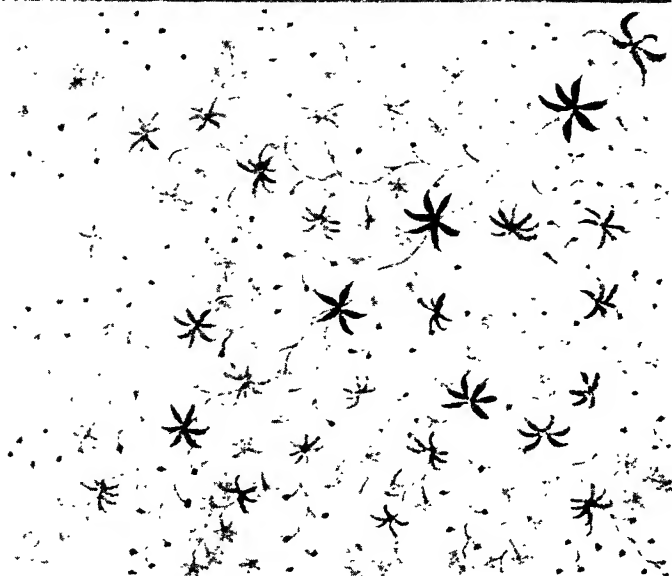
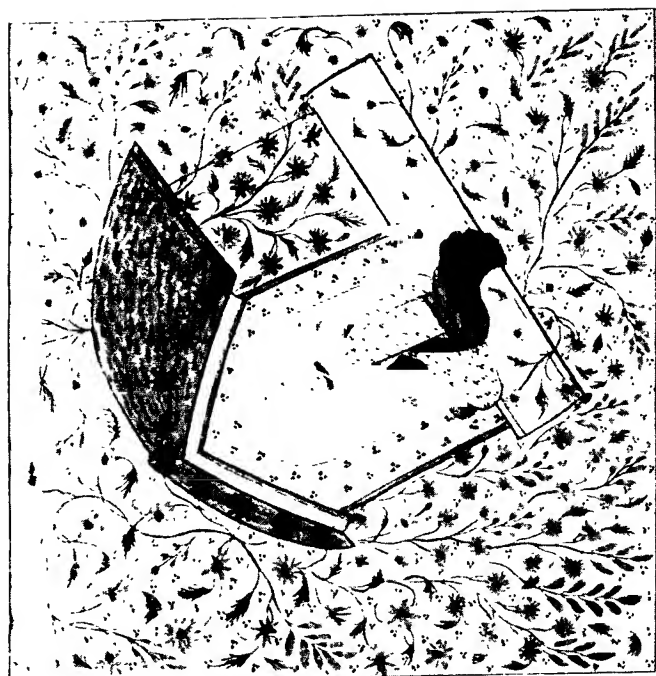
4. Śabdakalpadrūma, vol. I., p. 116 speaks of Nāgapāśabandha.

What is the object experienced, heard and seen, of which such a painting is an outcome? It is the experience itself of being, hearing and seeing. The serpent emblem floats in air and space, unsupported, its own limit. It carries the graphs of verses, syllables, sounds. Sound is a factor (guṇa) of Ākāśa, the ether that fills space. But sound, as everything else perceived, is a manifestation accommodated as it is to being received. Sound results from movement. Fundamental movement (spanda), the original and permanent creative stress is Śabda (sound). The universe is movement manifested. As articulate sound the ear knows the name of things.

When from cosmic dissolution (laya) the world awakens into existence and becomes created once again (sṛṣṭi) there is altogether undifferentiated movement. Before that there is but one undifferentiated consciousness which has no object, it is altogether full of itself and void of anything else. When this absolute and undifferentiated consciousness by its inherent movement, ever present and also in the latent balanced stage, contracts, it makes room for its own creation, i. e. for the limited part-aspect of itself which it then beholds. This is manifestation of the object as part of, and aspect to, consciousness. It is 'seeing' (īkṣaṇa). Seeing is the statement of the birth of form. Seeing as a phase of creative movement is simultaneous with the manifestation of objects. The eyes of consciousness now are open. This stage is Paśyanti Śabda. But even while they are closed, movement has begun.

Within the cosmic mind seeing is a stage brought about by and posterior to the original creative stress. It is one of its actualised aspects. Awakening from the sleep of dissolution it sees, that is it 'creatively ideates' the universe. From here such types as the Citra-kāvya (see p. 121) arise, emblems of Paśyanti Śabda and clad in such shapes as Śabda assumes in the manifested world.

In Ākāśa as the medium of sound, floats the serpent emblem with the letters on its body. The theory of Varṇātmakaśabda (lettered sound) indicates the way how Śabdabrahman (causal stress) is manifested and narrowed down in articulate sounds. The Śabdabrahman appearing in bodies is Kuṇḍalinī, "the spiruline power welling up from and coiling round the Śiva Bindu. This aspect of the power supplies the curving and circular motion which manifests as the rounding and spherical skin and flesh with which all Prāṇins (living beings) are supplied". This power is called and imaged as serpent power. Kuṇḍalinī creates the garland of letters : each of the coils is the Mātṛkā (subtle form) of each of the letters (varṇa). At the time of creation Mahākuṇḍalī uncoils from around the Śiva Bindu where she has lain as a



mathematical line without magnitude, one with it, and creates the whole universe in the form of letters and the objects which they denote.¹

The serpent emblem with its lettered verses and the objects they connote is the *Prāṇin* (living being) correspondence to *Ākāśa*, the ether that fills space and of which manifest sound is a *Guṇa*.

Gopāla on a lotus flower dances in the midst of the emblem. The lines, written on the serpent body knotted around him, voice his praise. They stir the mind of the devotee and their vibrations carry it towards *Kṛṣṇa* ready to receive His impress, shaping itself in the likeness of the image evoked, and finally one with Him whom he now beholds in intrinsic vision as form of that power of which the words are a reverberation.

That active aspect of the mind which makes it transform itself, is movement that produces name (*nāma*), and that aspect where it beholds itself thus transformed is *rūpa* (shape). The process of cosmic creation (*sṛṣṭi kalpana*) the devotee undergoes by himself experiencing the becoming of *Nāma-rūpa*, by the emergence of the shape of *Kṛṣṇa* from within his song and name.

As an emblem born with *Paśyanti Śabda* and symbolizing the becoming of *Nāma-rūpa*, a configuration like this *Sarpa-bandha* painting wants to be understood. In such a conception style matters not. Whether elements are treated according to one convention or the other, they may be assembled for they do not refer to one another as visible entities. It is exclusively their balance which keeps them together. They may be as far apart in origin and texture, as written letters and naturalistic details of objects seen. Each element being a symbol, it refers backward to its meaning and it is not joined collaterally to the other elements which are equally conditioned. Vaporious clouds, mere daubs of colour are next to the outline of a serpent *Śrī Yantra*, itself roundly modelled as are the lotuses, albeit with stalks as linear as the letters themselves. There is no other visual consistency than the balance between elements of unrelated structure.

Citra-kāvya, visual art-poetry, occurs in Sanskrit texts.² Its principle is not confined to 'painting' or graphic rendering. *Sarpa-bandhas* are incised in stone pillars of the *Bhoja-śālā* at Dhar, eleventh century, at Un (Indore) and at

1. Woodroffe, *Garland of Letters*, p. 196 and passim.

2. *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, pp. 283—322 deals with various types of *Bandhas*. *Śāhitya-darpaṇa*, No. 645 (Mitra—Ballantyne's Engl. transl. p. 349) speaks of *Citra* when the letters, under a particular disposition induce the shape of the lotus, etc.

Ujjain.¹ The letters in these cases are engraved on the serpent body or in squares formed by its folds. They are the letters of the alphabet and verbal terminations.

Citra-kāvya and Bandha although similar to Yantras and overlapping at times, figure as different aspects. A Yantra² is the visualized diagram of causal stress (śabda) of which the Bija mantra is the acoustic manifestation. It is its visible equivalent. The different Bija mantras evoke the respective Devatās in their own form (svarūpa). So also do the Yantras refer to them. Every image (pratimā) is a Yantra. It is a direct narrowing down of the unmanifested into definite form. It is not an emblem (pratīka), a configuration which connotes, in this case, a process. There lie the two not altogether separate alternatives of 'form' in Indian art. Either of them refers to the form- and sound-less state from where incessantly sound and forms appear. Both are remote from art or pictures in the current sense. But the fact of their existence, and containing elements of pictorial art, suggests that also illustrations have to be seen from a similar angle and understood from the same starting point.

The illustrations.

The text of the Gīta Govinda is surrounded by panels filled either with floral creepers or with a landscape motif of which hill and tree, birds and clouds are the main elements or else with groups of figures in a similar landscape setting. Creepers droop wispy patterns in either kind of panel. The landscape motif without human figures has great frequency. Excepting ten pages, there is none without two of these landscape panels as a rule, or three, while fol. 5, 7, 8, 15 have a wreath of them, the middle panel on each side consisting exclusively of hills, trees, birds and clouds. Landscape without human figures is rare indeed in Indian painting and it would be difficult to quote more than one pure antecedent. It belongs to a Kalpasūtra manuscript, fol. 39 recto, from Gujarat³ of the mid-sixteenth century and is referred to as 'Śrīsūryodaya', glorious sunrise; the disc of the sun above the mountains flanked by a tree on either side, these contain the wonder and glory of the scene, in few and agitated shapes⁴. Such concentrated and abridged 'landscapes' stand for nature in much the same way in which early Indian art showed the copious

1. A. S. I., W. C. 1918-19, p. 46, No. 10; 1912-13, p. 55, No. 5.

2. Cf. Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild*, passim.

3. W. Norman Brown is publishing this illustration, etc., in a forthcoming book. I am indebted to him for the identification, and to N. M. Heeramanek for photographs of this Ms.

4. "When in due time the god of the day had risen and by the blows of his hands the darkness was driven away." Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, p. 242. There is no anthropomorphism in the painting; the forcefulness of the metaphor is given form and colour by way of landscape shapes.



foliage of a tree by a few disproportionately large leaves encompassed by a neat outline. When frequently employed they tend towards being used as requisites. They may be treated in one style or the other and their emblematic balance is not disturbed.

The slightly raised or hilly ground, tree and creeper, clouds and birds, the elements of 'nature' in these Gita Govinda illustrations, are the issue of ancient Indian types as well as of Regency patterns. The latter are responsible for the raised and hilly ground, beset with grass on its darkened edge. This is put against the white of the paper surface, a piece of moveable scenery. So are the birds, equally Western in treatment. The tops of the trees preferably adhere to the closed silhouette, the stems are smooth and pliant with gliding curves, while the foliage is airy with such impressionism as is compatible with the Regency pattern. This fusion produces no less delicate results (Pl. XL, bottom panel) than the weeping willow character in the guise of palm-tree or creepers (Pls. XLI, Fig. 1 ; XLIV). The clouds may remain straight or wavy bands, a shape in which they appeared in some of the earliest Rāgamālā paintings, or else more distended, hazy and atmospheric, they occupy with a diminished orderliness a slightly larger part of the surface of the painting. Still, they remain requisites and are part of a design into which ancient formulae of spatial relations, (Pl. XLI, Fig. 2) may be introduced for a richer pattern, such as the hilly ground with the trees higher up, i. e., further back in space. Amidst these widely and leisurely set devices the human figures are interpolated in a similar manner. They are gathered around or clustered in the vicinity of the trees. Very quietly they are summed up by a linear movement on the verge of ceasing to be one. Colourful groups hover in an eternal Brindāban. By Hlādinī they are supported, in Hlādinī they rest. "Hlādinī is so named on account of giving delight to Kṛṣṇa who tastes delight through that power. Kṛṣṇa himself is delight and tastes delight. Hlādinī is the cause of the delight of the Bhakta ; the essence of Hlādinī is called love (prema)"¹.

Tempered and diffused, this delight is communicated to the tendrils (Pl. XLII, Fig. 2, panel on left) all a-tremble, while the figures of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs are weightened by the sturdiness traditional with Bengali painting even in this evanescent phase. How much it is mitigated, not only the colours show, subdued and chalky, if seen against the deep brightness of Paṭas² or painted book covers of earlier phases.

1. Caitanyacaritāmṛta II, viii, p. 213.

2. Pls. IV, VI, VIII, J. I. S. O. A, 1932 ; G. S. Dutt, The indigenous painters of Bengal.

A clean and flowing line nearest to that of contemporary and earlier Kangra paintings, although more staid and homely, is supported by the manner in which the sārī is worn. Tucked in at the waist into the skirt it covers the head and both the shoulders. It sums up the figure within long flowing lines. For these earlier Bengali paintings had no scope. In them the vigour of the bodily movement had been emphasised by the movement of the garments. In the Gīta Govinda paintings there is a counter-play between the long curves of the sārī to which those of the lāhṅā (skirt) have become assimilated and the angles in which the arms of the figures are bent (Pl. XLIV). It is only the physical movement which has been preserved in kind, and little is left of its intensity (Pl. XLIII). A brittle charm, a staid curve and the end cannot be far. Of the Mughal tradition there are but faint traces; sometimes a profile, (that of Rādhā, Pl. XLIII) is reminiscent of it and the floral patterns are at times replaced by arabesques. Almost invariably the faces are in profile. They stand out clearly against the ground, archaic and perhaps not quite unaware of silhouettes which were liked during Regency. Thin and in good taste, the figures are arranged singly or in groups on pieces of moveable scenery, each placed at the proper spot (Pl. XLI, Fig. 1). "Like the faint moon on an evening sky (Gīta Govinda, IV, iv, 6.) her head resting on her hand, Rādhā has retired into loneliness. She is merged in the thought of Kṛṣṇa. She hopes to meet him. She is still keeping her life" (G. G. IV, ix, 3). There is silence between those two palm trees, and the contorted plant on the edge receives Rādhā's complaint. It is held by the Kadamba tree and by her sārī, in curves of cold compassion, as cold and alienated as the bluish green of the dots and vegetation in this panel.

Equally distanced, with a sentiment for what has been true and is so even now for the living memory of that it has been, "Rādhā at early dawn rebukes her lover, whom she sees lying prostrate before her and imploring forgiveness"¹. The straightening curves that roof this Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa encounter are as a butterfly's wings before death. They stiffen between trees wide apart (Pl. XLIII).

Moveable scenery bridges the lack of participation that keeps figures at a distance from one another, even where colour gathers them into one variegated surface. (Pl. XLIV). "How Kṛṣṇa enjoys himself in company of beautiful women charmed by him" (Gīta Govinda, I, iv, 1). It is an enjoyment by name and in type; the form in dull lethargy is void of it.

Not the spirit of the Gīta Govinda but its setting still lives with the painter, in a way. That "love is the tiger who springs on her like Yama" (the god of

1. Gīta Govinda, Asiatic Res. Vol. III. p. 198.

death)¹ he has not experienced. Yet there are groups (Pl. XL, Kṛṣṇa with two Gopīs, in the centre of the upper panel and Pl. XLIV, panel on the right, on top) of a close and clear intensity. It has been mentioned already that the groups on the single pages only incidentally illustrate the text on the page. They visualize the thing that stays, the mood of the song, that is the mood in which the painter visualizes the song. The sensualism all in bloom of the Gīta Govinda in search across fragrance and youth, for the other, is but one strain, and to the painter of the song deeper ones are also present. The Caitanyacaritāmṛta has it that "Kṛṣṇa was charmed by his own beauty and desired to experience the supreme feelings that Rādhā felt for him." "Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa are one in two bodies. They delight each other by tasting love." "Having assumed the feelings and beauty of Rādhikā you have become incarnate in order to relish your own delight."² This drawing inward of Rādhā into Kṛṣṇa is the reverse process of Śiva's manifestation as Umā-Maheśvara.

They are cloistered in the supreme emotion (mahābhāva). This alone has reality. The creepers and flowers are a-stir with it. It is only the isolated and solitary who seeks response. Compositional correspondence belongs to the same plane. To another the singleness of fulfilment. It is then that a painting is beheld as an emblem.

In a motif like that of the flowing river (Pl. XLI, Fig. 1 ; XLII, Fig. 2) which means to be read in its course, moving, while it is seen statically forming the base of the picture, two planes are projected on to the surface of the painting. Emblem and composition intermingle in the figured panels. The purely floral ones however hold the atmosphere proper, the fragrance of the song and they leave room for and are commuted into landscape-emblem and figured group. Frail issue of the life-tree, their bloom has many varieties. Into it may be shuffled any requisite (Pl. XLII, Fig 1). Like a film it is passed across it, overgrown it should not be extricated. But even should rambling creeper and flowers be dimmed or recede (Pl. XL, XLIV) they remain frame and background of the scenes, and the landscape emblem with its perennial tree is another version.

The thin planes are transparent in the way they are slid into congruity. Delicately arid, symbol and requisite are one in the balance of the emblem. Pratīka refers to the permanent shaping of established and lasting connections. In these illuminations it is their seal imprinted faintly on the sheet of memories.

1. Ibid., p. 192.

2. I, iv, p. 44 ; II, viii, p. 221.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Pl. XXXIX

Fig. 1. Fol. IX ; Sarpabandha ; $14\frac{1}{8}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$

Fig. 2. Fol. X ; unidentified. The major part of the painting is occupied by a house-motif of Rājput architecture. The three doorways hold female figures bringing drink and food. The main scene in the women's apartment is a peculiar one of child birth. It is night, two oil lamps are burning, a red and transparent curtain of split bamboo (cik) spreads a glow over the women and the darkness of the room. Six warriors, or body guards (?) appear behind the house under a wind-swept sky and trees tossed in the wind. The largest panel, the right at the bottom, shows a Kīrtan party, with dance and song accompanied by flute (veṇu), bent horn (ram sṛṅga), cymbal (karatāl) and drum (mṛdaṅga). One Bhakta has fallen down in a felicitous swoon. Bananas and balls of sweetmeat, etc., on the ground, are offerings by the women in the right top corner of the panel. Of the boyish figures on top, the one blue, another white, are suggestive of the felt presence of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma or of Caitanya and Nityānanda amongst the Bhaktas. The others have a light or dark brown colour. Trees are set off against the white walls of the house-configuration.

The rapidly stippled or disjointed touches that make especially the trees and sky almost impressionistic, the three-quarter profile of some of the faces, show Westernism on the increase. But the Kīrtan scene, on the whole, adheres to spatial conventions of at least two thousand years standing in India.

The colours are cold and sombre with grey and brown predominating. The natural surface of the paper makes the white house walls. $13\frac{7}{8}'' \times 9\frac{1}{4}''$.

Not unlikely, fols. I-X and specially V-X were added after completion of the Gīta Govinda manuscript.

Pl. XL. Fol. 11 ; The text on this page, Gīta Govinda, Sarga II, Gīta v, śloka 4-6, is remotely alluded to by the painting in the upper panel. "He who in excess of pleasure embraces thousands of young women with his arms and whose ornaments on breast and hand shed a lustre which brightens all directions, He who bears a lovely Tilaka mark of sandal, has defeated the high glory of the moon surrounded by clouds, whose strong and merciless chest is crushing the heavy breasts of women, whose cheeks are adorned with Makara earrings set with diamond and rubies, in order to satisfy the desires of the wives of the Ṛṣis, gods, Asuras and men, is ever ready...." (transl. by Dinesh Chandra Sen). Gold is used discreetly to indicate the ornaments. $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$

Pl. XLI. Fig. 1. Fol. 16 ; Middle panel, bottom ; $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$

Fig. 2. Fol. 23 ; Middle panel, left side ; $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$

Pl. XLII. Fig. 1. Fol. 33 ; Corner panel on top, to left ; $3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$

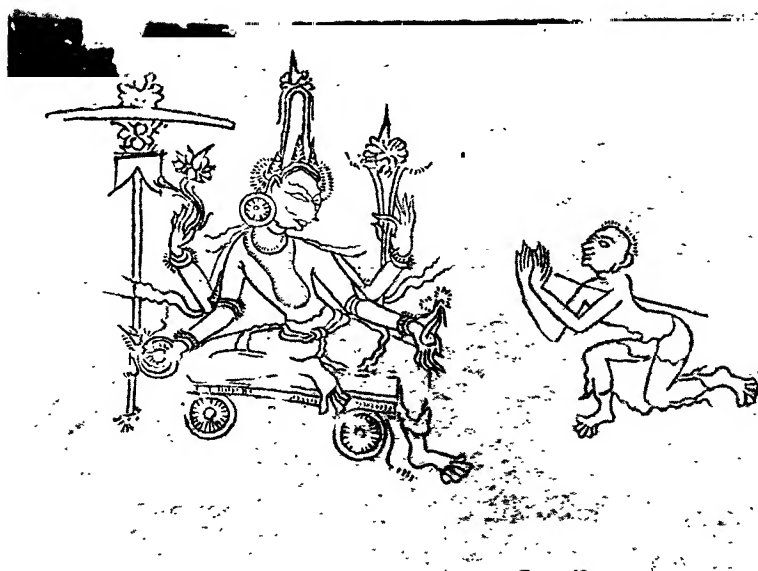
Fig. 2. Fol. 10 ; Middle and left panel, bottom ; $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$

Pl. XLIII. Fol. 31 ; Middle panel, bottom ; $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$

Pl. XLIV. Fol. 36 ; $13\frac{3}{4}'' \times 11\frac{1}{8}''$

A COPPER-PLATE ENGRAVING

By DEVAPRASAD GHOSH



A dated copper-plate grant in the collection of the Calcutta University is worthy of note because it contains on the reverse the only engraved drawing of any importance as yet discovered¹. Its iconographical and aesthetic qualities are also of interest. The

copper-plate was accidentally discovered inside one of the few square brick chambers with extraordinarily thick walls, surrounded by another thinner wall at a little distance, excavated during the reclamation of land from the dense forest in F Plot (Rākṣaskhālī) in West Sundarban ('Pūrva Khāṭikā Maṇḍala' of the inscription) near the sea coast of Bengal². The inscription is dated Śaka era 1118, which is equivalent to 1196 A. D. It is the earliest dated pre-Muhammedan epigraphic record in Śaka era found in Bengal. The inscription in proto-Bengali characters, is written

1. Coomaraswamy mentions an eleventh century copper-plate grant engraved with a bull and an elegant tail piece, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 1926, p. 3.

2. For an exact location see Varendra Research Society's Monograph No. 4, Rajshahi, 1930 ; map facing p. 12.

The chambers are now roofless but the thickness of the walls indicates that formerly they supported one or more storeys. The references to a Buddhist monument adjoining the village granted in the inscription, is significant in this connection.

on the one side coated with silver. Silver plated records are rather scarce. Although it was inscribed towards the end of the twelfth century, curiously enough, there is no mention of the Senas, the then ruling dynasty of Bengal. The suzerain referred to is a certain Pāladeva and his vassal chief with a peculiar name Śrī Maḍommoṇa Pāladeva, the donor of the grant, belongs to a family which came from Ayodhya.¹

The surface containing the incised drawing is so badly corroded that the lines had to be filled with white to allow a photographic reproduction. The engraving in question consists of a Vaiṣṇavite group on the upper part of the plate, approximately (6·5 X 3·2)"', comprising a sitting Viṣṇu with a combined Dhvaja and Chatra at the back and a kneeling Garuḍa in front. Pāla and Sena sculpture supplies us with many examples of upright standing figures of Viṣṇu but scarcely any sitting one is known. It is also to be noticed that the deity in Lalitāsana, does not rest on the familiar pedestal of double lotus flowers (mahāmbujapiṭha) but on a Ratha. Evidently the throne-carriage carved in stone sculptures is translated here into a wheeled chariot, associated as a rule only with Sūrya. The deity is without the profusely ornamented Prabhāvali and Prabhāmaṇḍala so typical of the period. The upright standard, adorned with a pinion (ketana), sun-shade and lotuses also appears to be unique. The body is represented in full front view, while the head is turned away towards Garuḍa, in three-quarter profile. Enclosed at the base by three peaks, the long tapering crown (kīṛṭamukuta) surmounted by a lotus flower and tendrils instead of the favourite Āmalaka, is another peculiarity. The decorative loops of the fillet above the ears and the large circular earrings are prominently shown.

That the image is a Nṛsimha variety of Viṣṇu (called in the inscription "Bhagavan-nārāyaṇa") is indicated by the arrangement of the emblems in four hands viz. Cakra, Padma, Gadā and Śaṁkha respectively, beginning from the right lower arm. The body is sparingly bejewelled and stereotyped folds of the drapery are conspicuous by their absence. No lotus cushion, however, is seen to support the dangling leg. The sharply pointed and curved fingers of the present example, can be traced back to the tenth century British Museum Ms. Or. 6902,² while the peculiarly conventional treatment of the toes is to be found in the later Gujarati paintings of the Vasanta Vilāsa.³ The eye-brows have their double curve broken into waves. Open bulging eyes drawn out to the ear, replace the

1. The inscription has been edited by B. C. Sen, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta, June 1934, pp. 321-31.

2. French, J. C., *Art of the Pāla Empire*, 1928 ; pl. xxiii, (1).

3. Mehta, N. G., *Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, 1931 ; pict. No. 49.

Padmapalāśalocana with downward pointing angle of the upper eyelid shown in earlier miniatures¹ and contemporary sculptures.² This novel form has its analogue in the early Jain miniatures of Western India³ (1141 A.D.) and the Ms. in Boston.⁴ The slightly hooked nose is rather sharp.⁵ Even as early as the fifth century A.D. the Sigirya frescoes provide us with specimens of the pointed double curved chin seen here.⁶ In its typical form it is found in an early eleventh century Bengali illumination.⁷ But here the outline is further broken.⁸

The figure of the kneeling Garuḍa, usually found at the feet of Viṣṇu in plastic art, here confronts him in profile. It is remarkable not only for its gesture and position—the horizontal plane on which it rests is at an angle to that occupied by the deity—but also for the closely cropped head, the beak-like nose, staff under the armpit and the outstretched hands not exactly clasped. The pliant body is impulsively flung against the majesty of the divinity, in a movement of adoration.

At a moment when the Muslim invader was knocking at the very gates of Bengal, this engraving affords a refreshing contrast to the lifeless products of the latest phase of Sena plastic art.

1. Vredenburg, E, The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art of India, *Rūpam*, January, 1920, p. 10.

2. Kramrisch, St., *Pāla and Sena Sculpture*, *Rūpam*, Oct. 1929 figs. 38-40.

3. Brown, W. N., Early Śvetāmbara Jaina miniatures, *Ind. Art & Letters*, Vol. III, No. 1, figs., 3, 4.

4. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, Fig. 281.

5. ".....but there is a distinction from the Gujarati types in that a large part of the farther cheek is always seen in the three-quarter profile, and the nose never projects beyond its outline, though in some cases the further eye is noticeably bulging". Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

6. Brown, P., *Indian Painting*, pl. 10.

7. Kramrisch, St. *Nepalese Paintings*, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Dec. 1933, fig. 1.

8. This peculiar rendering of the face is reflected in the terra-cotta reliefs in the Mathurapur monument recently discovered by G. S. Dutt, which indicates that the monuments should be dated in the 15th century or earlier instead of the 17th as assumed by Dutt. In treatment the reliefs have their counterpart in the 15th century miniatures in the West and the Vijayanagara stone reliefs from Tadpatri and Śrī-Sailam in the South. *Modern Review*, March, 1934, pls. IV—V. The present engraving may also offer clues to the development of Nepalese and Burmese painting whose Bengali components have been pointed out by Coomaraswamy and Kramrisch. It also appears that Siamese pictorial art and the Wayang pictures of Java and Bali were similarly influenced by Bengal.

TEMPLES OF BENGAL

By SARASI KUMAR SARASVATI

Innumerable images found in Bengal are in themselves sufficient evidence that in ancient Bengal there were temples for their proper enshrinement. Inscriptions, ranging in date from as early as the Gupta period, which frequently refer to the construction of, or landgrants to, temples of this or that particular deity, either by a private person or by the sovereign himself, confirm it. Hiuen Tsang, while travelling over the whole of Bengal in the 7th century A. D., noticed more than three hundred temples¹. After him comes a period of confusion for approximately a hundred years, which was followed by settled administration under the Pālas, and in the four centuries of continuous east Indian artistic productiveness it is probable that the temples and such other monuments, which could be counted by hundreds in the seventh century A. D., grew enormously in number. The excavation of 'tanks, as deep as the bottom of the sea', and the construction of temples, 'as high as mountain peaks,' were then regarded as stepping stones to fame and renown in this world², not to speak of the religious merit in the next. Well could Sandhyākara Nandī, the author of the Rāmacaritam, describe the magnificence of the city of Śoṇitapura (Devīkoṭ-Bāngarh) with 'temples thronged with worshippers and tanks smiling with lotuses.'³

Recently on the basis of an inscription from Holal, which mentions Kāliṅga as one of the four types of buildings along with Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara⁴, a claim has been made for the Orissan group of temples as a separate style in Indian temple architecture. Kāliṅga is mentioned in the Mānasāra as the name of a type of

1. Watters, Yuan Chwang. Vol. II, pp. 184—85, 187, 190 and 191.

2. Cf. Maitreya, A. K., Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 97.

Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I, v. 7.

3. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, Ed. Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākara Nandī, M. A. S. B., Vol. III. Chap. III. v. 9.

4. Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, p.90.

building,¹ but never as a separate style like the other three. It is reasonable to assume that Kāliṅga was but a distinct and important type in the Nāgara style, the architects of Kāliṅga, who raised so many temples in the Nāgara style, having won for themselves a separate and distinct recognition among the architects of Northern India.

The ancient temples of Bengal, which, with their lofty towers capped by golden Kalasas, have been figuratively described as obstructing the very course of the sun², and as ornaments of the earth (bhūbhūṣaṇaḥ), and which furnished a type of Prāsāda, known as Puṇḍravardhanaka³ (the Northern Bengal type), a Prāsāda with halls and corner towers on all sides and favoured by the Lord Hari, have but all perished. For the reconstruction of the lost types of pre-Muhammadan temple architecture we have to depend solely on sculptural suggestions, i. e., on the few representations of temples which may be met with on the sculptures of the province.

From the study of images, shown to be installed in temples, the temples of ancient Bengal can be divided into three distinct types. Two of these types are frequently found side by side in Orissa (Kāliṅga), the third, which is a combination of the first two, seems to be peculiar to Bengal. The difference in each case lies in the form of the towers capping the sanctum.

The first, and which seems to have been the most prolific, is characterised by a pyramidal tower, known as Bhadra or Piḍa deul in Orissa, where it was almost exclusively used as the roof of the Jagamohana (porch). Such a tower has the shape of a high stepped pyramid, the superstructure being made up of horizontal blocks of stone (piḍas), literally storeys, gradually diminishing, with a recess between each course. Over the last course rests the huge 'āmalaka śilā' on a narrow cylindrical neck, which is capped by the usual finials.

1. Mānasāra, 5-7.

Similarly Rāndhra, probably a corruption for Āndhra, belonging to the Andhra country, is also mentioned as a type of chariot (ratha) in Mānasāra, XLIII, 123-124.

2. Deopara Inscription of Vijayasena, verses 27-28., N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 48-49.

3. Dinajpur Pillar Inscription, J. P. A. S. B., Vol. VII, 1911, pp. 615-19.

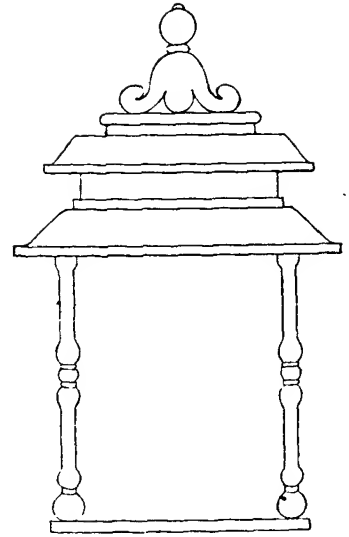
Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXXII, p. 125.

Puṇḍravardhanakam vrumaḥ prāsādam vallabham Hareḥ /

Bhramaya-mūlaśimāspṛk vṛttamādaḥ samantataḥ //

Tac-chālākarnasāmyuktam karttavyam sarvatodiśam /

The frequency of this type of temples in Bengal may be surmised from the rather large number of such representations on the sculptures of Bengal. The simplest and perhaps the earliest form may be noticed on the dome of the Ashrafpur bronze Caitya¹, which may be dated in the 7th century A.D. Here (Fig. opp.) we find a roof, composed of two receding pyramidal courses and the finial, supported on pillars. Gradually however the courses multiply and; in general, the type becomes more developed and decorated. The image of Kalyāṇasundara from Hili (Dinajpur), and now in the Dacca Sahitya Parishad², shows three courses, capped by the narrow neck above which there is a round coping stone (not an Āmalaka, as it is not ribbed) topped by a conical finial. The next and most probably the final transformation



may be seen in temples with trefoil arches supported on richly decorated pillars, the roofs being composed of three, four or five Piḍas or terraces, the whole surmounted by Āmalakas capped by Kalasas (stūpas in case of the Buddhist temples). For illustration we refer to the Sūrya image from Kuldia,³ Sūrya from Baria (Pl. XLV, Fig. 1) Ratnasambhava from Vikrampur (Pl. XLV, Fig. 2), fragment of a doorjamb with Gaṇeśa in a niche, doorjamb with Īśāna in a niche from Mandoil and the huge architectural stone from Kumarpur (Pl. XLV, Fig. 3) the last five in the Varendra Research Society's Museum, Rajshahi. The Piḍas in Bengal temples are, however, more pronounced than in Orissa and appear almost like storeys. The big architectural stone from Kumarpur shows a temple of the Pañcaratha type, the five Rathas being obtained by the addition of two facets on each side of a square. It can be gathered that such temples were of the Ratha type. This is corroborated by the Sūrya image from Baria, which shows the Pagas, the continuation of the Rathas on the tower. The Kumarpur specimen has the superstructure composed of four terraces; the huge Āmalaka, which caps the neck, is disproportionate.

A structural example of this type is preserved at Ekteśvar in the Bankura district. The Nandi pavilion, (Pl. XLV, Fig. 4) stands in the premises of the temple at

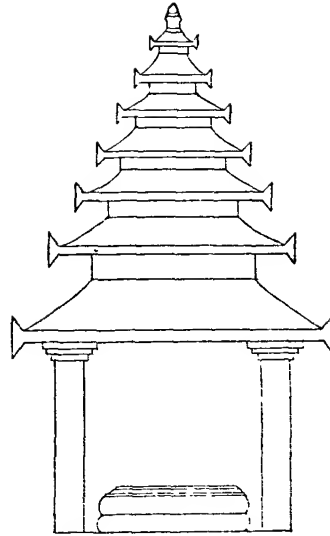
1. Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1891, Pl. III.

2. N. K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, p. 123, Pl. XLVIII, b.

3. Varendra Research Society's Monographs, No. 4, p. 6, Pl. I, Fig. 1.

Ekteśvar, a simple square building with a pyramidal roof composed of three receding tiers, resting on four square pillars. Though divested of the Āmalaka and the usual finials, it gives an idea of what this type of temples looked like.

The Pyatthat (Sanskrit: Prāsāda) of the Burmese monastery (Kyaung) is technically the many tiered roof over the room containing the image, i. e., over the chapel. Late examples¹ of these Pyatthats are the elaborate wooden structures, wrongly termed as Pagodas, of quite recent date (19th century A. D.). These many storeyed structures lead us to those in Nepal, which are, in all essential respects, identical. The origin, however, of this type has hitherto been an object of speculation. Duroiselle, is of opinion that it is to be sought for "probably in India."² The Pyatthats were known in Burma as early as the 11th century A. D., when representations of the plain and earlier specimens may be seen among the stone carvings in the corridors of the Ānanda temple, Pagan (1090 A. D.).³ In these, the superstructures consist of superposed roofs, five, seven or nine, square in plan and gradually diminishing in size towards the top (Cf. Fig. above). A still standing structure of the same century is the Pitakat-Taik, Pagan (1057 A. D.).⁴ The wooden superstructures over the chapels in the monasteries (the Pyatthats) are made of similar superposed roofs, only they have grown more elaborate and are decorated with carvings. The similarity of the earlier Pyatthat, as we have it in the sculptures of the Ānanda temple, Pagan, with the Piḍa deuls of the Bengal sculptures is striking. In Bengal we have a still earlier form in the seventh century A. D. The lofty wooden spires of Burma seem to have their origin in a lost temple type of Bengal. Further on we will have occasion to notice that the Ānanda temple itself was architecturally much indebted to Bengal.



It is not only Burma that was architecturally influenced by Bengal. This lost temple type of Bengal travelled further. In Siam, Cambodia, Campā, Java and Bali a series of temples closely approximates, in general shape and outline, this

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1912-13, Pl. LXXX.

2. Ibid., 1912-13, p. 140.

3. Ibid., 1912-13, Pl. LXXXIII.

4. Fergusson and Burgess, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II Pl. XL.

pyramidal type. These temples or towers are simple sanctuaries which rise in storeys, each storey set back, so as to form the stepped pyramidal roof to be seen in the Bengal sculptures described above. These storeyed pyramids appear to be derived from the terraced roofs of the ancient Bengali temples we have noticed before. The contact of Bengal with the Indonesian countries is a well known fact. In Siam, at Sukhodaya the three temples placed side by side within the Vat (enclosure) Sisavai¹, show each a plain ground storey with three projections, surmounted by other storeys, each upper storey slightly set back. In Cambodia the brick tower at Bakong² has a pyramidal roof in five receding storeys, and the recently reconstructed south sanctuary at Bantai-Srei (a little to the north of Angkor Thom) shows a magnificent edifice of five diminishing storeys with the summit crowned by Kalasa.³ The latter is elaborately carved with scrollwork and other designs. Above each storey we have a miniature of the sanctuary in each corner. The projecting cornices, which look like *Piḍas* (terraces) of the Bengal temples, the niches topped by transformations of the tre-foil arch of Bengal and the Kalasa finial (cf. the *Sūrya* image from Baria) show its close connection with the Bengali temples represented in sculptures. In Campā the great shrine at Mison⁴ and in Java the Chandi Bima, the most important and the best preserved of the Dieng group of temples,⁵ "have each a pyramidal roof composed of diminishing horizontal stages." The same form of superstructure may also be noticed in the modern temple architecture of Bali, as we see in a recent temple at Batur⁶.

The next important type is the *Rekha Deul*, i. e., the temple with the curvilinear *Śikhara*, of which we have at least three miniatures carved in the round, and several others still standing. Two of the miniatures are carved in stone, while the third, in bronze, has recently been acquired under Treasure Trove Act from Jhewari in Chittagong. The first and often reproduced one⁷ is a miniature monolithic temple (*Śailagandhakūṭī*, according to an inscription on its base) from Bangarh and now in the Dinaipur Raj garden. By earlier writers (E. V. Westmacott and R. D. Banerji) it has been wrongly described as a Buddhist stūpa. The name *Gandhakūṭī*, however, suggests it to be a Buddhist temple, a sort of votive offering

1. Fergusson and Burgess, Vol. II, p. 409, Pl. XLVII.

2. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 187, fig. 326.

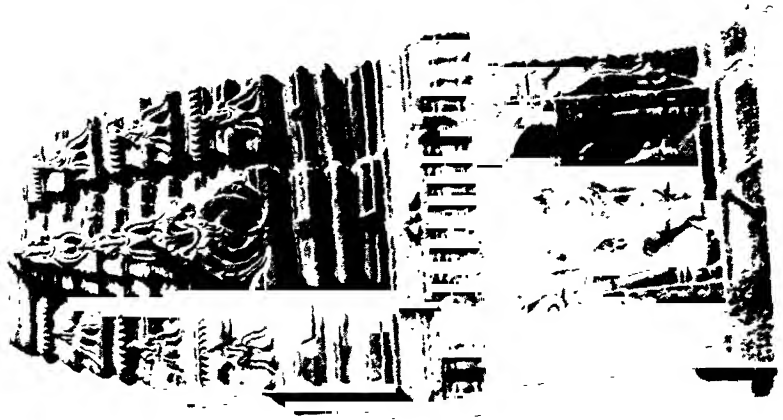
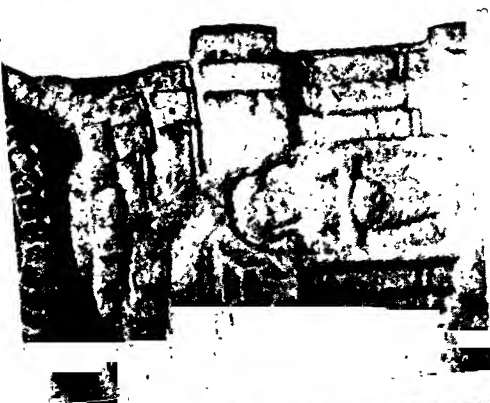
3. *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. VIII, 1934, No. 1, p. 32, Pl. VIII.

4. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit., p. 106, fig. 341.

5. Ibid. p. 202, fig. 346.

6. Ibid., p. 210, fig. 351.

7. I. A. S. B., 1875, Pl. I, Pl. X.



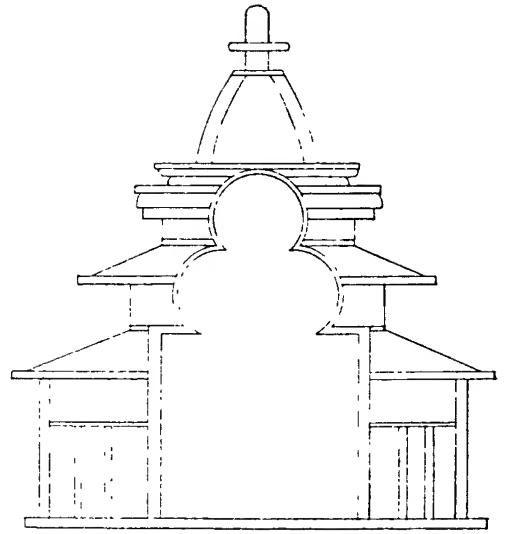
by a pious devotee, Jasanara by name. The templet consists of the usual Vimāna (sanctum) capped by the curvilinear Śikhara, the Maṇḍapa, which is but an adjunct, being absent. The plan of the Vimāna is the usual cruciform, which rises perpendicularly straight up to the beginning of the Śikhara. There is a niche on each face, consisting of a round pilaster on each side supporting a trefoil arch above. The niches contain four standing figures of Buddha depicting the four incidents of his life. Hanging festoons decorate each face of the Vimāna towards its top. Two deep recesses with corresponding projecting cornices (upper Jaṅghā) demarcate the Vimāna from the Śikhara. It may be that the recesses are meant as decorative friezes. The curvilinear Śikhara rises in horizontal courses and slopes inwards by an imperceptible diminution of the courses, till the last course is reached. Next comes the narrow neck capped by the bulging Āmalaka and the finial, which however is lost. The body of the Śikhara is profusely decorated, the Konaka Pagas showing the edges of the successive courses, the Anuratha a line of continuous scroll, and the Rāhā a decorative device, perhaps a transformed Caitya window. Though the Bhūmis are not demarcated by the usual Āmalakas at the corners, the device on the Rāhāpaga, each occupying the space covered by two courses, shows that the Śikhara was made up of seven Bhūmis. In shape and outline the templet of Brahmā from Nimdighi, V. R. S. Museum, Rajshahi (Pl. XLV, Fig. 5) agrees in general with the above specimen, the Bhūmis in the latter case being demarcated by miniature Āmalakas at the corners.

The bronze templet, discovered at Jhewari (Chittagong) in February, 1927,¹ along with more than 60 Buddhist images, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The templet stands on a pedestal and the Vimāna shows on each face a projecting trefoil niche supported on round pillars, and reached by a flight of steps. The Śikhara, composed of five Bhūmis, demarcated at the corners by miniature Āmalakas, gradually tapers inwards and at the top we have a rampant lion at each corner, which seems to support the Āmalaka but is actually detached. Over the Āmalaka a miniature stūpa is the finial, characterising it as a Buddhist gift. The body was studded with precious stones, some of which still remain. Dikshit describes it as a miniature of the Mahabodhi shrine at Bodhgaya, but the straight-edged pyramidal tower of the Mahabodhi has but little or no resemblance with the curvilinear tower of the present miniature.

The next type, which Bhattasali was the first to recognise in some sculptures, may be said to be exclusively peculiar to Bengal. This hybrid type, a curious mixture

¹ A. S. I., A. R., 1927-28, p. 124, Pl. LVII, a,

of Bhadra and Rekha deuls, is represented in a few sculptures and paintings. Foucher, in his *Iconographie Bouddhique*¹ illustrates, from the inscribed miniatures in Ms. Add. 1643, Cambridge, *Trisaraṇa Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka* of Puṇḍravardhana inside a temple. This temple (Fig. opp.) may be taken to represent a type of the pre-Muhammadan temples of Bengal. Two images, one of *Arapacana Mañjuśrī*² found somewhere in Bengal and the other of Buddha from Mahakali in the district of Dacca³ also exhibit a similar type of temples. The tower of the temple represented is one of the



Bhadra type with a roof of high receding terraces (piḍas) surmounted by a Śikhara of the Rekha type. The temple over *Arapacana Mañjuśrī* represents a variety of this type where we find the Rekha Śikhara surrounded by five more spires, shaped like Caityas, rising from the terraces i.e., Piḍas.

The importance of this hybrid type in the history of the extension of Bengal art is great. In Burma there is a group of temples, whose origin has been the object of many conjectures. Square in plan with sometimes projecting porches or vestibules on one or more of its faces the roof is pyramidal, consisting of a series of storeys of moderate height, set back one behind the other and crowned with the curvilinear Śikhara.⁴ The *Ānanda*,⁵ the *Sulaimani*⁶ and the *Thitswada*⁷ temples in Pagan and the *Kyanktangyi* temple at Amarapura belong to this type.⁸

Duroiselle at one time⁹ ascribed the origin of these temples to Northern India, but later¹⁰ he opined that these temples "have been fashioned after South

1. Pl. III 4.

2. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit., Fig. 229.

3. N. K. Bhattasali, loc. cit. p. 31, Pl. IX, b.

4. Fergusson and Burgess, loc. cit., p. 341.

5. Ibid., 361, Pl. XLI.

6. A. S. I., A. R., 1922-23. Pl. XXXII.

7. Fergusson and Burgess, p. 364, Pl. XLIII.

8. Ibid., p. 353, Pl. XXXVIII.

9. A. R., A. S. I., Burma Circle, 1913-14, p. 16.

10. Ibid., 1917-18, p. 18.

Indian models." But, thanks to the representations of similar terrace-roofed Śikhara-topped temples of miniature paintings and stone images of Bengal, it is now clear that the type was derived from Bengal, and it is the total disappearance of the prototypes in the land of its origin which is responsible for the conjectures that have hitherto prevailed.

The excavations at Paharpur¹ are singularly important. The temple exhumed has been described by Sir John Marshall as being "entirely unknown to Indian archaeology."² Indian literature however frequently refers to a type of temple, known as Sarvatobhadra, which should be a square shrine with four entrances facing the four cardinal points, and with an antechamber on each side (catuṣśāla grha). It should have uninterrupted galleries all round, five storeys and sixteen corners and many beautiful turrets and spires³. The temple at Paharpur, as now excavated, approximates in general to the Sarvatobhadra type. It is a many-storeyed temple, the main shrine occupying the highest terrace, together with four halls and antechambers on four sides, surrounded by a continuous circumambulatory passage, with further projections and passages added at each lower terrace, to extend the building proportionate to its height. The disappearance of other

1. Re Paharpur, refer to :

Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. I. II. III. pp. 669-670 ; E. V. Westmacott, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLIV, 1875, Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XV, pp. 117-120 ; also *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1922-23, pp. 116-119 ; 1925-26, pp. 107-113 & 141 ; 1926-27, pp. 140-149 & 119 ; 1927-28, pp. 38-39, 101-111 and 144-145 ; and 1928-29, pp. 97-98.

2. *Illustrated London News*, Jany. 29, 1927, p. 160.

3. *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, LII, 37 :

Ātrāvāstukaraṇe pañca catuṣśāla grhāṇi bhavanti
Sarvatobhadra-Nandyāvartta-Vardhamāna-Svastika-Rucakākhyam
Tatrādāveva Sarvatobhadrasya lakṣaṇamāha—
Apratisiddhālindam samantato Vāstu Sarvatobhadram
Nṛpa-vivudha-samūhānām kāryyam dvāraiścaturbhir-api

also Garga, quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala :

Alindānām vyavacchedo nāsti yatra samantataḥ
Tad-vāstu Sarvatobhadram catur-dvārasamāyutam

also his own commentary to the above passage of the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* :

Yasmin-vāstuny-alindānām gamanikānām pratiṣedho
Vicchittir-nāsti samantataḥ sarvāsu dikṣu

Also *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*, LV, 27 :

Dvāraiścaturbhir-vahuśikharobhavati Sarvatobhadraḥ
Vahuruciracandraśālaḥ śadvimśaḥ pañcabhaumaś-ca

Also *Matsya Purāṇam*, Chap. 269, 34—35 :

Ṣoḍaśāsrasamāyukto nānārūpasamanvitaḥ
Anekaśikharas-tadvat Sarvatobhadra ucayate
Citraśālāsamopetaḥ vijñeyaḥ pañcabhūmikaḥ
Valabhac-chandakas-ta dvadanekaśikharānanaḥ

examples has been responsible for the idea that the Paharpur temple is a unique type in Indian architecture, and that it was not developed further on Indian soil and was ultimately forgotten.¹ These ideas are erroneous. The Śāstras enjoin such a type for the kings and the gods, and most of the mounds in Bengal, which can still be traced as rising in terraces, would apparently reveal, on excavation, such a type of temple. Indeed, we have exhumed another such temple, though of much smaller dimensions, at Birat in the Rangpur district, where the chance digging of a mound led to the discovery of the ruins of a temple, the plan of which was similar to that at Paharpur.² There is every possibility of many such being laid bare by systematic excavation. This type is characteristic of Bengal. The third type of temple we have reconstructed from sculptural suggestions (Bhadra-rekha Deul), also tells the same tale. The type appears to have still survived in the Dolmañicas. These square mounds of earth rising in diminishing terraces are permanent appendages to every Bengali village.

The importance of the type of temple laid bare at Paharpur in the history of Indo-Colonial art and architecture, is clear. It influenced that of Further India, especially Burma, Java and Cambodia. I have already furnished the instances of the Ānanda, the Sulaimani, the Thitswada, etc. in Burma, which are exact copies of the Paharpur temple when supplied with a steep curvilinear Śikhara as that of the Bhadra-rekha Deuls of the Bengal images. Dikshit refers to the Chandi Loro Jongrang and the Chandi Sewu in Central Java,³ which offer the nearest approximation to the plan and superstructure of the Paharpur temple.

A few pre-Muhammadan temples in west Bengal have escaped utter dilapidation. Some of these edifices are built of stone, others of brick. The brick temples are in the district of Bankura and one in the Sundarbans, and of the stone ones we have one at Ektesvar in Bankura, noticed before, and a group of four temples in the district of Burdwan, the Begunia group of temples.⁴

The finest example of brick architecture in Bengal is the Siddhesvara temple at Bahulara⁵ on the Dvarikesvar river, 12 miles from Bankura. It is situated on a low mound (15' high and about 100' square) and was originally surrounded by eight small subsidiary shrines and enclosed by a compound wall,

1. A. S. I., A. R., 1927—28, p. 39.

2. Ibid., 1925—26, p. 113.

3. A. S. I., A. R., 1927—28, p. 39.

4. S. K. Sarasvati, The Begunia group of Temples, J. I. S. O. A., vol. I. p. 124.

5. A. S. R., Vol. VIII, 1872-73, p. 202; A. S. I., A. R., 1921-22, pp. 84-85; 1922-23 pp. 58-59; Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Fig. 213.

all of which are now in ruins forming isolated and long mounds. The principal mound on which the main temple stands, has brick built votive stūpas of various shapes and sizes.¹ The temple is dedicated to the worship of Śiva under the name of Siddheśvara. But the votive stūpas, which belong to an earlier stratum, show that the site was once associated with the worship of other than Brahminical deities, Buddhist or Jaina, possibly the latter, as the image of Pārśvanātha, now preserved in the temple, would indicate.

The main temple is a remarkable example of the "single celled tall-spired profusely decorated type" bearing a close affinity to the mediaeval temples of Orissa, and not to those of post-Muhammadan date in Viṣṇupur, which is near by. In plan it is a polygon which continues even up to the top of the Śikhara. The topmost portion has tumbled down, yet it is still 54' in height. The temple was originally coated with plaster, carefully made to correspond to the ornamentation so finely cut on the bricks.

The plan of the sanctum is a cruciform (ratha type), obtained by a number of recessed corners. It rests on a plinth with elaborate mouldings, much of which have however gone. The sanctum can be approached by a vestibule in the thickness of the front wall with a triangular corbelled arch opening. On the other three sides, besides the division into Rathas, the plainness of the walls is relieved by niches, capped by miniature Śikharas in the central Rathas and three horizontal bands passing all round just in the centre. Projecting mouldings separate the Vimāna from the Śikhara which gradually tapers inwards. The whole face of the Śikhara is carved with intricate traceries and scroll work and other designs (one of which are numerous miniature representations of the Śikhara). At the corner Paṅgas the different storeys are demarcated by corner Āmalakas. The neck, the Āmalaka and the usual finials, which must have crowned the Śikhara (cf. the decorative miniatures and other edifices of the same style) have all tumbled down. Coomaraswamy² assigns this temple to as early as the 10th century A. D. Dikshit however thinks this date to be a century or two too early³.

The Śaileśvara (Pl. XLV, Fig.6) and the Sāreśvara temples at Dehar (Bankura), of which only the cruciform Vimānas are now preserved, and these overgrown with vegetation, closely resemble the Siddheśvara temple and may be said to belong

1. Ibid., p. 112.

2. Loc. cit., p. 108, fig. 213.

3. A. S. I., A. R., 1927-28, p. 41.

to the same period. The vestibule in the thickness of the wall, the niches on three sides surmounted by miniature Śikhara and the horizontal band in the centre of the Vimāna, all conform to those of the Siddheśvara. There is however a frieze of caryatid figures between the two projecting cornices at the top of the Vimāna above which rose the curvilinear tower, which has wholly tumbled down.

The most interesting of the ruins yet discovered in the Sundarbans is the temple called the Jaṭār Deul (Pl. XLV, Fig. 7), towering about 100' above the surrounding plains. The structure here too has a cruciform Vimāna, topped by a curvilinear Śikhara, and in general style and plan a close affinity to the Siddheśvara temple, which, however, shows a more curvilinear outline of the Śikhara. The bricks used are of large dimensions, a fact which also suggests a high antiquity, a point further corroborated by the finds near about¹. Unfortunately the temple has lost much of its beauty and original decorations in the repairs undertaken, which appear to have given it an almost different shape. Formerly, as is evident from the photograph from negative No 326 in the office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, the temple had considerable architectural merit, its tall brick spire with decorative miniatures and other geometrical mouldings, in conformity with the Siddheśvara. There can be no doubt in assigning this temple to the same period as the Bahulara, in spite of Bhattasali's contention that "it is impossible for an exposed brick structure in Bengal to survive the ravages of nine centuries."²

1. V. R. S. Monographs, Nos. 3, 4 and 5.

2. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. XVI.

REVIEWS

Manasara, Text, Translation and Illustrations, by P. K. Acharyya, Printed at Allahabad and published by the Oxford University Press.

These three volumes testify to the great industry and application of the author. All texts on Śilpa Śāstra are written in corrupt Sanskrit and are full of technical terms,—factors which have made them highly difficult of comprehension. These technical terms are not familiar to us, nor are they to be found in the ordinary Sanskrit dictionary. The class of learned Śilpīs, the only persons who might have inherited this traditional lore and followed these texts in their every-day work of architecture and craftsmanship and who were therefore capable of expounding them have almost died away for our apathy. The few that may still be living, should be found out and in collaboration with them alone should efforts be made to grasp and explain these texts and to rescue the science of Hindu Śilpa from oblivion.

And this is absolutely necessary. Hitherto Hindu architecture has been studied from the existing temples, and other structures. Few have studied these architectural monuments in the light of the texts. Those who like Ram Raz, Coomaraswamy and Acharyya are trying to unravel the written science of Indian architecture deserve our thanks. It is natural that these pioneers in the field commit errors in their exposition of the texts. The duty of all workers in the line is to co-operate and collaborate in finding out their correct meaning.

The translation of the Mānasāra by P. K. Acharyya is not free from errors and inaccuracies. Consequently so are the illustrations. A few of the inaccuracies are shown below :—

- (1) मानमात्रं विधा श्रेष्ठं यववृद्धिविशेषतः ।
षट्सप्ताष्टयवैतत् कनिष्ठमध्यमोत्तमम् ॥ II. 47—48, ch. II

Acharyya's translation :—"Each of these (modes of measurement) is said to be of three kinds, especially with regard to (the increment of) yava measurement. With six, seven, and eight barley-corns are (distinguished) the smallest, the intermediate and the largest yava measurements."

Acharyya has been misled by the word "मात्रम्" which he seems to have interpreted as "only or each". Presumably he has been confused by the same word used in Bengali. The Sanskrit word 'मात्रम्' has entirely a different significance. Here the word means nothing else than angula. Cf. "अङ्गुलं तु भवेन्मात्रम्" Mayamatam, I. 8, ch. V.

The correct translation would, therefore, be : "The measure, mātra (angula), is said to be of three kinds, because of the increase (in the number) of yavas (making it up.) The smallest, the medium, and the biggest (mātra) are made (respectively) of six, seven and eight yavas.

- (2) पार्श्वदिक्काङ्गुलं तत्समं रज्जुनाडकम् ॥ I. 72, ch. II

Acharyya's translation :—"Measuring sidewise, width of the measuring rope should be one angula".

Correct translation : "One angula apart from the one by the side, in this way the whole length of the rope."

This means the rope (which corresponds to the modern measuring tape) should be graduated in angulas. Indeed this graduation in angulas is still in vogue amongst the old-fashioned tailors, their tape being graduated in angulas.

(3) Acharyya translates 'वस्तु' as object in many places, if not everywhere, e.g. in ll. 4, 6, ch. III. The word means in the Śilpa Śāstras nothing else than vāstu, sometimes with a wider connotation. It is derived from the root vas, to sit, to reside. Everything in which mortals and immortals sit or reside 'वसन्ति' is called vastu by the expert.

अमर्त्त्याश्चैव मर्त्त्याश्च यव यव वसन्ति हि ।

तद् वसति मतं तज्ज्ञैस्तद्धिदं च वदायहम् ॥ ll. 1—2, ch. II, Mayamatam.

The Mānasāra also gives the same definition of वस्तु.

तै तलाश्च नराश्चैव यस्मिन्स्थितः परिस्थिताः ।

तद्वस्तु स्मिभिः प्रोक्तं तथा वै वक्ष्यतेऽधुना ॥

Acharyya, misled by the misinterpretation of the word which bears, besides this technical sense, the meaning 'object' has rendered the lines as :—

"The various abodes where gods and men dwell, have been noticed by the divine sages ; those objects will also be elaborated now (in this science of architecture)."

From what I have remarked above, the correct translation would be : "Those things in which the gods and men dwell, (sit or reside) are called वस्तु by the learned. In that way (i.e. following them) they are set forth now."

(4) पञ्जरं मञ्चली मञ्चं काकाष्टं फलकासनम् ।

तथैव बालपर्यङ्कं पर्यङ्गमिति कथ्यते ॥ ll. 11—2, ch. III

काकाष्ट' is meaningless. It can, by no stretch of imagination, admit of the queer meaning—'the eight-legged crow (shaped) bed'—attributed to it by Acharyya. I think the correct reading should be :

पञ्जरं मञ्चली मञ्चका काष्ट' etc.

Cf. Mayamatam

मञ्चमञ्चलिका काष्टं पञ्जरं फलकासनम् ।

पर्यङ्कं बालपर्यङ्कं शयनं चैवमादिकम् ॥ ll. 15—16

Acharyya's translation :—

The cage, the swing, the sofa, the eight-legged crow (shaped) bed, the plank-bed, similarly the small bed, all these are stated to be (implied by the term) couch (paryāṅka).

This rendering leaves out the principal thing, paryāṅka, from the list of śayanās (vide l. 10, Mānasāra, Ch. III.) The correct translation would be :—

"The cage, the sofa, the dais, the (wooden) chair, the bench, similarly the cradle, the bedstead, all these are called (śayanam)".

(5) The following reading and, consequently, the rendering thereof, seem to be grotesque :—

दक्षिणावर्त्तसलिला (प्र)दक्षिणाकारा वर्णशैः ।

मानवाञ्जलिमानेन दृष्टिनौला मनोहरा ॥ ll. 13—14, ch. IV

Acharyya's translation :—

The (other) features : having a pond surrounding the south (and) a southern aspect, looking green to the sight and attractive to the mind (when) tested by (holding in the hollow of) a man's palms.

The correct reading seems to be :—

दक्षिणावर्त्तसलिला दक्षिणाकारा वर्णशैः ।

मानवाञ्जलिमाने न दृष्टिनौला मनोहरा ॥

Acharyya also gives a different reading 'दृष्टिनीरा' । Cf. Mayamatam, ll. 12—13, Ch. III

प्रदक्षिणोदकवती वर्षगन्धरसैः शुभा ॥

पुरुषाञ्जलिमात्रं तु दृष्टतोया मनोहरा ।

In this connection reference should be made for comparison, to lines 13—21, p. 16 of Ram Raz's Essay on Architecture, where he describes the qualities of a good ground as set forth by Mānasāra.

If I am right in assuming the reading as above, then the rendering should be : (The ground) surrounded by water running from left to right, of the right shape as described above, without any water to be found within a depth equal to the height of a man with the arm raised above, and of attractive appearance,"

I am disposed to think however, that the word 'दक्षिणवर्त्तसलिला' means, possibly, "with water running down from the south" i.e. "sloping down towards the north."

(6) पवनं वायुकोणे च गगनं चैव नैच्छते । l. 59, ch. 7

Acharyya renders this line thus :—

'Pavana (wind-god) is assigned to the south-west, and Gagana (sky-god) to the north-west'.

वायुकोण is north-west and नैच्छते is south-west, so that the correct rendering will be :

'Pavana (wind-god) is assigned to the north-west and Gagana (sky-god) to the south-west.'

The illustrative diagram consequently is also wrong.

Acharyya seems to have been misled by the unnecessary reversal of the cyclical order in the assignment of the cardinal directions ; for he gives the correct meaning of these two words in translating the lines 90—91 of the same chapter.

(7) His allocation of gods in the site-plan Mahāpīṭha is wrong. The correct allocation would be as follows :

	Mukhya	Soma	Aditi	Īśa
Maruta	Rudra	Bhūdhara	Āpavatsa	Jayanta
Śoṣa	Mitraka	Brahmā	Āryyaka	Āditya
Varuṇa				Vimśa
Sugriva	Indra	Vivasvān	Sāvitra	Kṛśānu
	Pitṛ	Bhṛṅgarāja	Yama	Vitatha

His error owes its origin to his accommodating the last named sixteen gods (ll. 77ff.) within the court of the Mahāpīṭha. This has further led him to an unnecessary subdivision of the eleven outer plots which is not warranted by the text. It is clearly laid down here that these gods lie without the court, along the boundary line (तदङ्घ्रिः परिवः सूत्रे). Indeed this has been made still clearer in the line introducing the description of god-planning in the

next site plan, Upapiṭha: "These gods lying on the boundary lines (without any plots of their own) are assigned plots in the Upapiṭha". (एवं सूत्रस्थितान् देवान् पदस्थानेषोपपीठके l. 70, Ch. VII)

(8) एवं तु दण्डकं प्रोक्तं तस्यायाममिहोच्यते ॥

विस्ताराद्द्विष्टेन वर्धयेद्दिगुणान्तकम् । ll. 15—13, Ch. 9

Acharyya's translation :—

"This is said to be (the breadth of) the Dandaka (village). Its length is described here : it is twice the breadth the increment being by two rods."

The correct translation would be :—

"This is said to be (the breadth) of the Dandaka (village). Its length is described here ; it exceeds the breadth, increasing, by two rods, up to twice as much.

This is clear from the exact measurement of lengths laid down in the lines 16 f.

(9) तस्य मूलायधोर्वीथीं न कुर्याद्वाथ कल्पयेत् ॥

तदेव तिर्यङ्मध्यं (एकवीथीं कृत्वा विना तथा । ll. 98—9, Ch. 9.

"(In this village) there may or may not be a (small) street running from end to end ; one similar street may or may not run straight through the middle (of the village)."

The main point missed here is the transverse (तिर्यक्) character of the streets in question. In the preceding line (l. 97) the longitudinal streets are described. In these lines are described the optional transverse streets, two at the two extremities and another through the middle.

The correct translation would, therefore, be :

"At the beginning and at the end of these streets (i.e. at their extremities) may or may not be constructed two roads, transverse to them and similarly another road through the middle".

(10) In the description of the many-storeyed buildings, Acharyya invariably construes and translates the word Hārā as 'chain' which renders the text meaningless. Strangely enough his illustrations do not bear out this meaning. For example, in the plan of the ten-storeyed buildings, Chapter XXVIII, diagram No XC, Hārā indicates an interspace between Bhadra and Kūṭasālā, whereas the translator still clings to the meaning 'chain' (vide his translation of the line 11, Ch. XXVIII.)

The reason is that Dr. Acharyya saw to the translation, while Mr. S. C. Mukherjee and others took up the work of illustration. Mr. Mukherjee did the work in his own way and light. The meaning of the word Hārā is not yet clear to me. It certainly does not indicate chains in this context. In this connection the word Hārā admits of two meanings only, viz. a wall or a small door.

Cf. शालाकूटान्तरालं तद्भारान्तरमिति स्मृतम् ।

पञ्जरं तत्र कुर्वीत तदनेकविधं भवेत् ॥ ll. 1—2, Ch. 26, Śilparatna

This clearly indicates that Hārāntara means a part of the wall where windows are to be constructed. By the way, Ram Raz also construes Hārāntara as 'flank ornaments' (Essay, p. 53) which is not correct as is clear from the foregoing text.

cf. अर्धारिका च द्वारा स्वादः.....(l. 49, Ch. 21, Isānaśivagurudevapaddhati, Part III).

Ardhārikā means Kabāta (door-panel). Thus Hārā means a door-panel and, hence, may mean door. The proper word seems to be Hārā and not Hāra. अर्धारिका is derived thus अर्ध + द्वारिका from which it is clear that द्वारिका or द्वारा, may mean a small door.

I propose to discuss some further errors and inaccuracies in a subsequent issue.

B. B. Dutt.

The Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, by R. D. Banerji, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVII, pp. XVIII, 203 ; 96 plates.

The posthumous work under review consists of eight chapters and professes to deal with the history of sculptural art in the eastern provinces of northern India (roughly Bihar and Bengal) in its various aspects. In the first chapter the author briefly introduces his subject. "The second chapter contains a complete description of sculpture in the eastern provinces of northern India during the first seven centuries of the Christian era", and the third, "the rise and evolution of the eastern school of mediaeval sculpture", is devoted to a detailed palaeographical analysis which forms the framework of this monograph. The special types adopted by the artists of the eastern school of mediaeval sculpture in the representation of the life of Gautama Buddha are described in the fourth. The fifth and sixth chapters are devoted to the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons. The seventh chapter deals with metal casting and takes stock of the few Jaina images which have been discovered in eastern India. "The last or the eighth chapter is devoted to a discussion of such specimens of temple architecture as still remain in the eastern provinces of Northern India along with such architectural members as had been discovered from time to time in different parts of Bengal and Bihar."

From the 8th century to the 12th "in the eastern provinces of Northern India artistic activity was evident on a scale, which other provinces of the north and the south failed even to approach in magnificence, excellence and extensity." Of special interest and value is chapter IV, where the author has given us a thesis on the representation of the Buddhacarita in the art of the different schools of India. He differentiates the eastern school from the others in this respect and we cannot but lend support to his conclusion that the artists of the eastern school evolved a particular type for the delineation of the incidents in the life of the Master. Here the idea of the image proper was always present in the mind of the artist and we find a particular incident as the main and pivotal subject constituting the image proper with the other incidents surrounding it as accessory details. This conclusion has been supported by several illustrations from Bengal and Bihar. The two chapters on iconography, and those on metal casting and architecture may be said to be satisfactory on the whole, though we will have to refer to several discrepancies.

We are not prepared to hold that "during the first empire of the Pālas the artists of northern Bengal were decidedly in a minority, compared with those of eastern Bengal and southern Bihar" (p. 3). There is no dearth of art specimens of the early Pāla period ('the first period of art activity' in the eastern school) from north Bengal. They may be negligible as compared to the abundance of relics in the holy land of Buddhism, which is receiving the attention of archaeologists ever since the time of Cunningham. The study of Bengal archaeology is still in its infancy, and the reason for the comparative scarcity of early Bengal sculpture is to be sought for in the fact that our collections consist chiefly of what we may call chance finds from tanks and ditches of the latest period and from the upper stratum of the ground, and not in a paucity of artists in north Bengal (Varendrī), the homeland of the Pāla kings. Systematic excavation and exploration of the older sites are expected to yield earlier specimens of sculpture in this region.

The third chapter, dealing with the rise and evolution of the eastern school, forms the main theme of the book. Unfortunately however the treatment of this important aspect must be pronounced to be far from satisfactory. "A chronological sequence of artistic development in the north-eastern provinces of India on the basis of palaeography" which the thesis professes to be, cannot but be an incomplete study. An epigraphist, as R. D. Banerji was, he took the art specimens as but suitable places for writing inscriptions, as if the sculptures were executed for the inscriptions and not the inscriptions for the sculptures. To the complete neglect of other data, he has exclusively relied upon palaeographical analysis. He has given us a lengthy discourse on the gradual evolution of the palatal sibilant, which he assumes to be the test letter for this period. On that line he attempts to trace the rise and evolution of the school, an attempt which fails to be convincing and, not seldom, leads to hopeless confusion. He has not taken into account the different art trends which went to form this school, their origin, existence and decline. Aesthetic values and stylistic considerations have been ignored altogether.

Palaeographical analysis is not by itself a sure test for determining the age of a particular sculpture or a group of sculptures. The Bodhgaya inscription of the year 26 of Dharmapāla contains three forms of the palatal sibilant, of which two are to be found in an earlier inscription, while another, which the author terms as 'the later form without a cross-bar' (p. 24) is apparently the regular 11th century form, which he describes (p. 37) as consisting of two

semicircles placed horizontally side by side with their ends joined, the end of the right semicircle prolonged as a straight line downwards and the end of the left semicircle slightly curved to the left with a wedge or triangle attached to its end. The 11th century form is thus being foreshadowed in the 8th century. The Ghoshrawan inscription of Devapāla contains four forms of Śa, the first transitional form with the cross-bar (p. 25), the second transitional form with its upper part consisting of a narrower semicircle with a portion of the cross-bar as its base (p. 27), the pure looped form and the third sub-variety of the second group of images (p. 32), the last being characteristic of a later period, the period of decline. The first sub-variety of transitional form, prevalent in the first period of activity, occurs in conjunction with the second sub-variety of the period of decline in the Gaya inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla (p. 32). A particular form remains in vogue for not less than two centuries. The second transitional form of the first period occurs for the first time in the Ghosrawan inscription of Devapāla, but it is "certainly earlier than the pure looped form which we find in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla" (p. 27). In face of these anomalies and anachronisms the short votive inscription on an image, containing one or two instances of the test letter, or even none, cannot be a criterion at all on which to base the chronological sequence of a school of art. Indeed his exclusive reliance upon palaeographical examination has led to much confusion and contradictory statement. To cite only one instance, on p. 35 the author locates the image of Lokanātha (No. 5859, XV, d) in the period of degeneration during the struggle with the Pratihāras, while on p. 38 he attributes the same image to the period of regeneration which followed the recovery of the Pāla power by Mahipāla I. This single instance will show that the method adopted by the author cannot, by itself, be a sure ground for his thesis to rest upon. It is for this deceptive basis also that some of his illustrations appear to be chronologically misplaced.

With regard to the fifth chapter, that on the Buddhist pantheon, the treatment of the subject is, on the whole, clear. But more attention might have been given to the problem of the crowned Buddha, a peculiarity of the eastern school. And we are at a loss to understand how he can equate the snake-hooded figures from Gihyaabad (pl. XXXVIII c), Garui (pl. XXXVIII, a), Sonarang (pl. XXXVIII, d) and Sagarjighi (pl. XXXVIII, b) as a "blending of the older Bhāgavata class of Vaiṣṇava images and the Lokeśvaras of the later Mahāyāna school of Buddhism" (p. 96).

As regards the chapter on Brahminical iconography we have but very little criticism to offer. Pl. LIII, identified as Virupākṣa, should have been identified as Aghora-Rudra. Not to have mentioned the peculiar form of Liṅgas, with four female figures in añjali pose round it, which are to be found in north Bengal, appears to be a grave omission. The emaciated goddess from Devagram (Pl. LXII, d) is Danturā, whose dhyānas are to be found in the Agnipurāṇa. The concluding paragraph, dealing with the relationship with the art of Java, however is full of interest and critical judgment.

The chapter on metal casting has the statement, "Tāranāth has recorded that the art of metal casting was founded in the eastern provinces by two men, father and son, named Dhīman and Bitapāla" (p. 130). This is not borne out by Tāranāth's testimony, which only records the fact that the skilful artists, Dhīman and Bitapāla, produced many works in cast metal. (Ind. Ant. Vol. IV, 1875, p. 102).

The concluding chapter pieces together the few examples of Pāla architecture and a few architectural parts, such as pillars, door frames, etc. The treatment is informative and judicious. Of the minor errors we may notice that the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara was built of brick and not of stone, as the author thinks (p. 159). Not all the temples at Barakar were built in the Pāla period (p. 147), only one (temple No. IV) is assignable to that early period.

But for several typographical errors the printing of the text and the reproductions of the plates are very good.

Sarasi K. Sarasvati.

Goetz Hermann, Geschichte der indischen Miniaturmalerei, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1934.

This small book is a popular work dealing with the history of Indian miniature painting. It is not a serious endeavour to investigate the problems underlying the subject but an account of the historical and social atmosphere in which this art grew. In fact, after Strzygowski's monumental work dealing with Asiatic miniature painting, Stchoukine's

and Percy Brown's books about painting under the Moguls, only to mention these publications, it is difficult to cover the same field without being betrayed into certain generalisations, which make pleasant reading, but are unconvincing. Mr. Goetz in other works of his dealing with India, especially with the chronology of Indian painting basing his derivations on costume, has done some brilliant original work. The book under review written with undue pathos, a fault unfortunately too common in German scholarship, has no pretension except to being a reiteration of views more or less accepted now by those interested in Indian miniature painting.

The system of approach which consists in placing the art under study in its sociological environment, has all my sympathy. Mr. Goetz knows his history of the period very well. Naturally in his efforts to trace Mogul art to its central Asian home he is not so conversant with his subject as Strzygowski. But the circumstances which brought about the re-birth of art under the Great Akbar have been convincingly described. This method, however, has certain limitations. It is not necessary that the same phase in the development of art in one country should have a correlative socio-political conjuncture in another. Thus the 'over-culturedness' (*Überkultiviertheit*) noticeable in the later Safavid art in Persia or that of Shah Jehan and his successors in India may not have the same sociological causes. When the artist becomes conscious of his mission, when personality is controlled by criticism and creation by a fixed purpose we get the degeneracy which consists in overrefinement and concentration on details. I cannot agree with Mr. Goetz, when to suit his sociological theory, he ascribes the decadence of Mogul art after Jehangir to the down-trodden condition of the masses in India, whom he calls a "mit Saebel und Peitsche misshandeltes Volk." This is not also correct history. The fact that in Akbar's time the 'joy of life' (*Lebensfreude*) expressed itself in idyllic scenes of peasants ploughing the field, does not prove that the depicting of personalities other than courtiers is a sign of an art born out of national depths. In that case French art of the XVIIIth century would cease to be eclectic and court art. Moreover I would not too much believe as Mr. Goetz does, in the testimony of distinguished public servants like Sir Thomas Roe, when he said that he could not distinguish between originals of European engravings and their copies at Akbar's court. Distinguished public servants in India as well as elsewhere, have no eye for such things. These copies, where the swerve of the Mogul and Rajput wrist is too evident would by themselves form a fascinating subject of study.

Shahid Suhrawardy.

A. Foucher, On the Iconography of the Buddha's Nativity, transl. by H. Hargreaves. Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 46.

The reliefs of Sāñcī, Bhārhut and Bodh-gayā depict three of the Four Great Miracles of the Buddha's life. An attempt has been made by Foucher to read the other miracle, i.e., the Buddha's nativity, from the reliefs. Hitherto the female figure associated in various ways with the lotus flower and also with elephants, often depicted in Sāñcī, Bhārhut and other places was explained as Śrī-Lakṣmī. As Śrī-Lakṣmī she is shown with the lotus in three ways, (1) she holds a lotus flower in her raised right hand while the left rests on the hips, or, (2) she stands or sits on an expanded flower, or, (3) she is surrounded by flowering stems and growing leaves, establishing her environment (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian iconography*, *Eastern Art*, Jan. 1929 p. 178). Besides these three, there is another type where Lakṣmī is seated or standing on a lotus and two elephants are pouring water on her head from two sides (*abhiṣeka*). Dr. Foucher attempts to explain these female figures as so many representations of the Buddha's nativity. Moreover, he tries to prove that this particular motif in question, was created for the above purpose, and appropriated, but at a much later date, by the Indian images of "Fortune". Elsewhere he says in the same article (p. 21), "...while awaiting what further discoveries may have to teach us regarding the period of transition, we ought to grasp all the more firmly both ends of the series, viz., the two certain identifications of this image, at first with Māyā for the whole period anterior to era, and afterwards, with Śrī-Lakṣmī since the third or fourth century A.D."

A pillar relief from Bhārhut, (Fig. 12; *Eastern Art*, Jan. 1929, or, plate VI, Fig. 26, Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*), is inscribed *Srīmā Devatā*, "The Goddess Mother Śrī". The object held in her raised right hand is a lotus. The characteristic association of the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī is with the waters, and specially with the lotus which is a symbol of the waters ("the lotus means the waters", *SB vii, 4, 1, 8*"). Brahmanical literature abounds in references to her. The use of the lotus as a symbol of purity, common in Buddhist literature, and also the thought that the expanded lotus represents the manifested universe, are secondary developments. (Cf. Coomaraswamy, *op.-cit.*)

In the Abhiṣeka type two elephants (or, so-called Nāgas) are pouring water on Māyā's head. Lalita-vistara (p. 93) says, "And (as soon as he was born) the two Nāga kinds, Nanda and Upananda, standing half embodied in the sky, created two streams of water, one cold and one warm, to bathe the Bodhisattva. In Mahāvastu, Buddhacarita and other Buddhist texts similar stories have been told. In one of the texts, Māyā Devī is also bathed. We readily accept the meaning of Nāga, as half human and half serpent being and as elephant as well; the latter meaning being advocated by Dr. Foucher. Thus when fully accepted, the meaning of the Abhiṣeka type becomes clear. But how are these Buddhist texts containing those supernatural stories to be placed? It can be proved conclusively that Lalita-vistara, Mahāvastu and Buddhacarita are much later than the Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Bodh-gayā reliefs.

Lalita-vistara refers to Hunalipi (writing of the Hunas) (Mahāvastu mentions the Hunas along with the Chīnas Mahāvastu I, 35, Indian Antiquary) 1913, p. 265; who as the inscriptions discovered at Bhitāri, Kura and Erān prove, came shortly after the death of Kumāra Gupta. Buddhacarita was written by Aśvaghoṣa in Kaniṣka's reign. About the date of the latter book we are certain. As regards the other two, the supernatural stories originated and prevailed after the construction of these monuments of Buddhist art.

Thus the Nāga story of later origin is not depicted on those reliefs. In all the cases of the Abhiṣeka type there is no supernatural being in the shape of a Nāga. Only the same elephant occurs again and again. The sculptors of Bhārhut, Sāñcī and Bodh-gayā would not have exclusively resorted to the elephant figure had they known the story of the Nāgas.

Dr. Foucher says, "As we go.....towards Mathurā and draw nearer to the heart of India, we note that the first care of the local artists is to reinstate the two Nāgas in the episode of the bath. Only here they understand and interpret the scene much better: i.e. the Nāgas appear in their half human half serpent form." But the real case is, later on when the nativity story had gained a firm footing and was widely known in Gandhāra, etc., and the Buddha came to be regarded as a superhuman or divine being, we find the real Nāgas for the first time (plate VI, fig. 2). The story of the Buddha's nativity is not the subject of the reliefs in question on the grounds of its late origin and supernatural character.

Moreover we do not know how to explain a relief otherwise than that of Śrī-Lakṣmī which is found on a medallion on a rail pillar of stūpa 2 at Sāñcī (fig. 16, Eastern Art. Jan., 1929, or, plate XIV fig. 52, Coomaraswamy, A.I.I.A.). The goddess is accompanied by two attendants, bearing food and drink, recalling the Śrī, "bringing food and drink." Another sculpture that cannot be explained otherwise but as Śrī-Lakṣmī, has been found at Mathurā, now B89 in the Lucknow Museum (see fig. 22 and details in Eastern Art, Jan., 1928). The gesture of pressing the breast occurs considerably earlier at Bhārhut and may also be seen in a fragmentary Śunga terra-cotta recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The most characteristic feature, next to Śrī-Lakṣmī, is the lotus. Elephant, lion, bull, tortoise, bird, all find a place near it. It will be daring, if we say with Dr. Foucher that lotus with lion means Śākya-siṃha.

Buddhist art under discussion flourished either under the direct or indirect patronage of the Śunga (following Sama Veda), Kanva (Brahmanical) and the Andhra (Brahmanical) kings. If under direct patronage, the figure of Śrī-Lakṣmī appears to satisfy the Hindu kings; if under indirect patronage, she appears to make Buddhist art a popular one.

S. S. Bhattacharyya.



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